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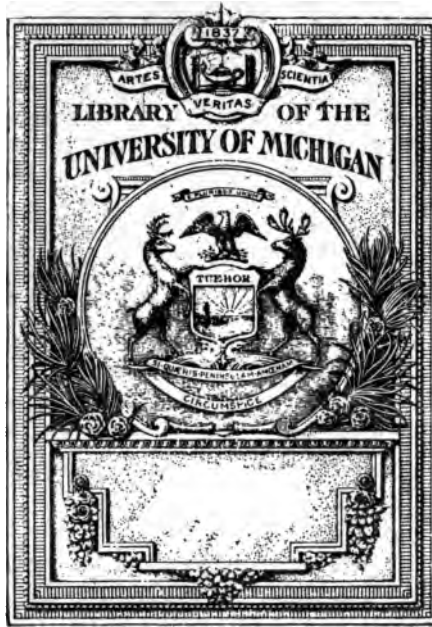
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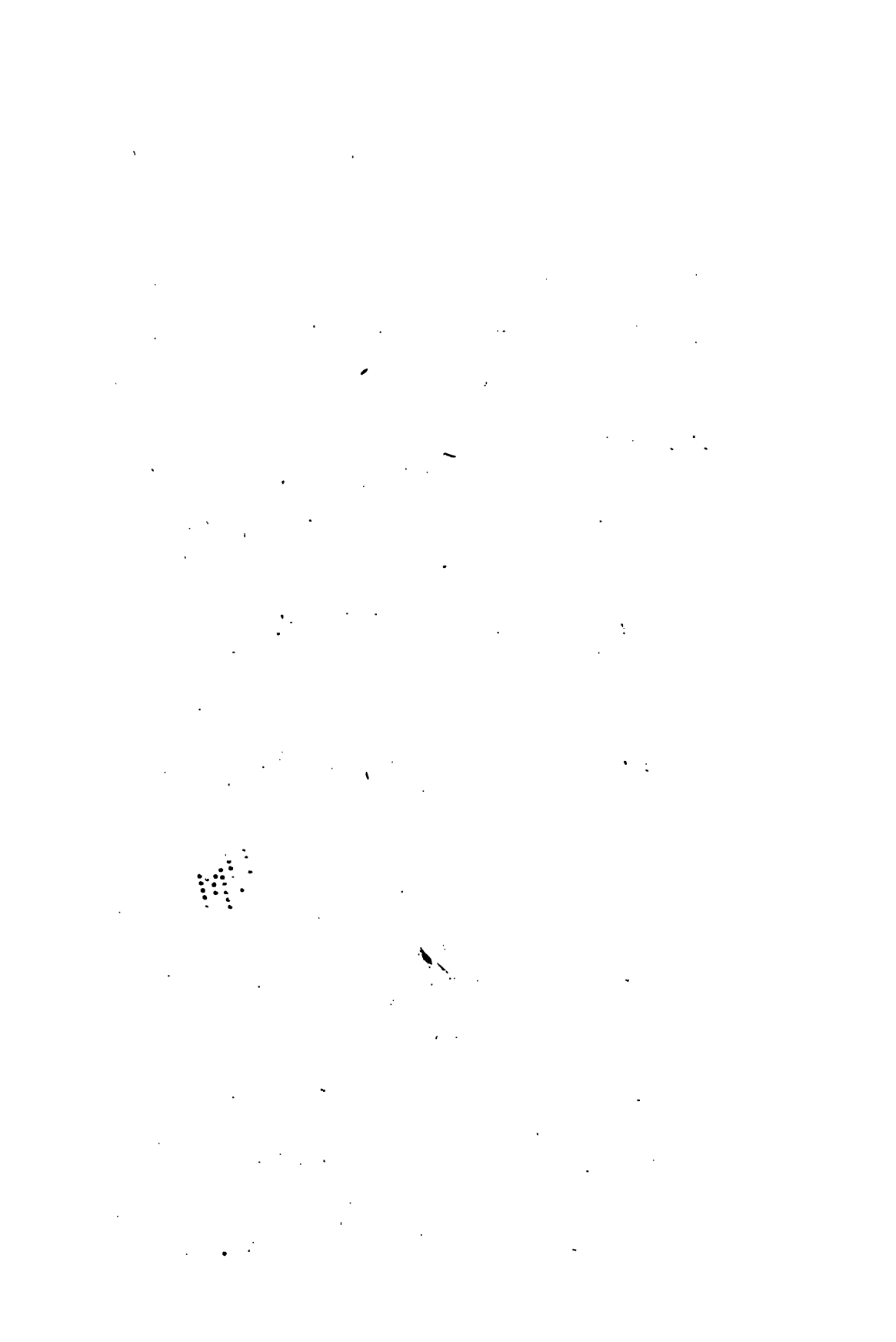
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
MANNERS, LANDED PROPERTY, GOVERNMENT,
LAWS, POETRY, LITERATURE,
RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE,
OF THE
ANGLO-SAXONS.

BY SHARON TURNER, F.A.S.

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1805.



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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ANGLO-SAXONS.

BOOK I.

Of the Saxons in their Pagan State.

CHAP. I.

The Character and Persons of the most ancient Saxons.

THE civil and military history of the Anglo-Saxons having been detailed, it is proposed to complete the original undertaking by presenting, in this volume, as correct a picture of their manners, government, laws, literature, religion, and language, as the imperfect documents which remain will enable us to compose. If some of the features must be still left in obscurity, let it be recollected that nearly eight hundred years have passed away since the period at which this history terminates.

B O O K
 I. No part of the Anglo-Saxon æra was very luminous in its literature; and our narrative must be deficient where our materials are scanty. Nothing therefore must be expected by the public but that the details which are given be authentic, and that fancy be not suffered to let loose her phantoms in those places which time has surrendered to irremovable oblivion.

THE Anglo-Saxons came to England from the Germanic continent; and above a century had elapsed from their first settlements before they received those improvements and changes which followed the introduction of the Christian system. These circumstances will make it advisable to exhibit them as they were in their continental and pagan state, before they are delineated with the features and in the dress of Christianity.

IT would be extremely desirable to give a complete portrait of our ancestors in their uncivilized state, because this is an epocha in the history of the human mind which has seldom been faithfully detailed or sufficiently considered. But our curiosity must submit to disappointment on this subject. The converted Anglo-Saxon remembered the practices of his idolatrous ancestors with too much abhorrence to record them for the notice of future ages; and as we have no runic spells to call the pagan warrior from his grave, we can only see him in those imperfect sketches which patient industry may collect from the passages that are scattered in the works which time has spared.

THE character of the ancient Saxons displayed the qualities of fearless, active, and successful pirates.

rates. It is not merely a Spanish churchman¹ who C H A P.
I. remarks them as dreadful for their courage and agility, but the literary emperor, who had lived among barbarians, and who had fought with some Saxon tribes, denotes them as distinguished amongst their neighbours for vehemence and valour². The pagan historian, their contemporary, expresses the general feeling of his age when he ranks them as superior to others in energy, strength, and warlike fortitude³.

THEIR ferocious⁴ qualities were nourished by the habitual employment of indiscriminate depredation. It was from the cruelty and destructiveness, as well as from the suddenness of their incursions, that they were dreaded more than any other people. Like the Danes and Norwegians, their successors and assailants, they desolated where they plundered with the sword and flame⁵.

IT was consistency in such men to have been inattentive to danger. They launched their predatory vessels, and suffered the wind to blow them to any foreign coast, indifferent whether the result was a depredation unresisted, or the deathful conflict. Such was their cupidity, or their brutal

¹ Orosius, lib. vii. c. 32.

² Julian Imp. Orat. de laud. Const. p. 116.

³ Zozimus, lib. iii. p. 147. ed. Ox.

⁴ Salvian says, gens Saxonum fera est, de Gub. Dei, lib. iv. V. Fortunatus calls them "aspera gens, vivens quasi more ferino," 8 Mag. Bib. 787; and Sidonius has the strong expression of "omni hosti truculentior," lib. viii. c. 7. Even in the eighth century the Saxons on the continent are described by Eginhard as "natura feroces," p. 4.

⁵ Amm. Marcell. lib. xxviii. c. 3.

B O O K ^{I.} hardihood, that they often preferred embarking in the tempest which might shipwreck them, because at such a season their victims would be more unguarded. Their warfare did not originate from the more generous, or the more pardonable of man's evil passions. It was the offspring of the basest. Their swords were not unsheathed by ambition or revenge. The love of plunder and of cruelty was their favourite habit, and hence they attacked, indifferently, every coast which they could reach ⁶.

As their naval expeditions, though often wildly daring, were much governed by the policy of surprise, so their land incursions were sometimes conducted with all the craft of robbers. "Dispersed into many bodies," says Zozimus of one of their confederates, "they plundered by night, and when day appeared they concealed themselves in the woods, feasting on the booty they had gained ⁷." They are, however, seldom mentioned by the historians of the fourth and fifth centuries without some epithets which express a superiority over other men in their achievements or their courage.

THE ferocity of the Saxon character would seem to suit better the dark and melancholy physiognomies of Asia and Africa than the fair, pleasing, and blue-eyed countenances by which our ancestors are

⁶ Amm. Marcell. lib. xxviii, c. 3. xxvii. c. 8. Sid. Apoll. quoted at length in the first volume of this history, p. 75.

⁷ Zozimus, lib. iii. p. 149. This tribe whom he calls Quadi, Marcellinus, lib. xvii. c. 8, more correctly names Chamavi. These robbers were destroyed by one Chariette, a Franc, who organized some corps on the same plan.

described.

described*. But though nature had supplied them with the germs of those amiable qualities which have become the national character of their descendants, their direful customs, their acquired passions, and barbarous education perverted every good propensity. So ductile is the human capacity, that there is no colour, climate, or constitution, which governs the moral character so permanently as the good or evil habits and discipline to which it is subjected.

C H A P.
I.

THEIR persons were of the largest size⁹. On the continent they were so proud of their forms and their descent, and so anxious to perpetuate them, that they were averse to marriages with other nations¹⁰. Hence the colour of the hair of their males is mentioned as uniform. In the fourth century they had a peculiar method of arranging and cutting their hair, which Sidonius has described. It had the effect of enlarging the appearance of the face, and diminishing the head¹¹. In the following ages it is

* Sidon. Appol. lib. viii. ep. 9. Bede, lib. ii. c. 1. The expressions applied by Tacitus to all the German nations are, "truces, et cerulei oculi."

⁹ Meginhard in Langbaine, Scrip. Dan. tom. ii. p. 39. Wittichind, p. 5.

¹⁰ Meginh. ib. Tacitus had expressed the same of all the German tribes.

¹¹ Cujus vertex extimas per oras
Non contenta suos tenere morsus
Arctat lamina marginem comarum
Et sic crinibus ad cutem recis
Decrescit caput, additurque vultus.

Sid. Ap.

mentioned

B O O K mentioned as diffused upon their shoulders¹²; and ^{1.}
 an ancient Saxon law punished the man who seized another by the hair¹³.

In their dress their loose linen vests were adorned with trimming, woven in different colours¹⁴. Their external garment was the sagum, or cloak¹⁵, and they had shoes. Their females had gowns, and several ornaments for the arms, hands, and neck¹⁶.

THE Saxons who invaded Thuringia in the sixth century are described by Wittichind as leaning on small shields, with long lances, and with great knives, or crooked swords, by their sides¹⁷. Fa-

¹² Wittichind, p. 5.

¹³ 1 Linden. Codex legum, p. 474.


¹⁴ Paul. Warnefrid de gest. Langob. lib. iv. c. 23, p. 838. Grot. ed. The vest is mentioned in the old Saxon law, p. 474, and their idol Crodus had one.—Fabric. Hist. Sax. tom. i. p. 61.

¹⁵ Wittichind, p. 5, and see Lindenbrog Glossary Voc. Sagum, and Weifs. The curious may see a description of the dress of a Franc in the Monk of St. Gall's life of Charlemagne, and of a Longobard. in P. Warnefridus, lib. iv. c. 23.

¹⁶ One is called in the old Anglian law the Rhedo, to the stealing of which the same penalty was attached as to stealing six sows with pig. The mother, in the same law, might at her death leave to her son, land, slaves, and money; to her daughter, the ornaments of the neck; id est, murænas (*necklaces*), nuscas, monillia (*collars*), inaures (*ear-rings*), vestes, armillas (*bracelets*) vel quidquid ornamenti proprii videbatur habuisse. 1 Lindenb. p. 484.

¹⁷ Wittichind, 5. As Tacitus remarks that the Germans seldom had swords, and more generally javelins, there is some plausibility in the derivation of the Saxon name from their sachs, or peculiar swords. The Cimbri on the contrary had great and long swords, according to Plutarch in his life of Marius.

bricius,

bricius, an author of the sixteenth century, saw in CHAP.
 an ancient picture of a Saxon, a sword bent into a ^{1.} 
 femilunar shape¹⁸. He adds, that their shields were
 suspended by chains, that their horsemen used iron
 sledges¹⁹, and that their armour was heavy. I
 have not met with the documents from which he
 took these circumstances.

¹⁸ Fabric. i. p. 66.

¹⁹ The favourite weapon of Thor, according to the
 northern eddas, was a mallet.

HISTORY OF THE MANNERS, &c.

CHAP. II.

The Government and Laws of the more ancient Saxons.

BOOK
I.

IT is said by Aristotle, that whoever lives voluntarily out of civil society must have a vicious disposition, or be an existence superior to man¹. But nature has endeavoured to preserve her noblest offspring from this dismal and flagitious independence. She has given us faculties which can be only used, and wants which can be only provided for in society. She has made the social union inseparable from our safety, our virtue, our pride, and our felicity.

GOVERNMENT and laws must have been coeval with society, for they are essentially necessary to its continuance. A spacious edifice might as well be expected to last without cement or foundation, as a society to subsist without some regulations of individual will, and some acknowledged authority to enforce their observance.

THE Athenian philosopher has correctly traced the progress of our species towards political institutions. The connubial union is one of the most imperious and most acceptable laws of our frame. From this arose families and relationships. Fami-

¹ Aristotle's Politic. lib. i. c. 2. p. 3^{ro}. ed. 1666.

lies enlarged into villages and towns, and an aggregation of these gave being to a state ². C H A P.
II.

A FAMILY is naturally governed by its parents, and its ramifications by the aged. The father, says Homer, is the legislator to his wife and children ³. Among most barbarous tribes the aged ancestors have prescribed to the community the rules of mutual behaviour, and have adjudged disputes. As population multiplied, as civilization advanced, and the sphere of human activity has been enlarged, more precise regulations, more decided subordination, and more complicated governments became necessary, and have been established.

THAT the Saxon societies, in their early stages, were governed by the aged is very strikingly shewn in the fact, that the words of their language which denote authority also express age. When it states that Joseph was appointed ruler over Egypt, the words are, "sette into *ealdre* over Egypta land ⁴." For Cæsar, the emperor, we have "Caſeras tha beoth cyninga yldest ⁵." Here eldest is used as synonymous to greatest. A British general is called an "ealdorman ⁶." The latin term *satrapa*, by which Bede expressed the ruling Saxon chief of a district on the continent, is rendered by

² Aristot. lib. i. c. 3. p. 391. This is one of Aristotle's most valuable works, and will repay with great profit a careful attention.

³ Cited by Aristot. ib. p. 379.

⁴ Genesis, xlv. v. 8, in Thwaite's Saxon Heptateuch.

⁵ So the pontifex is called *yldesta bilceop*. Orosius, lib. vi.

c. 4.

⁶ Sax. Chron.

BOOK ^L his royal translator "ealdorman⁷." The phrase of "a certain ruler" in St. Luke is, in the Saxon gospel, "fum ealdor⁸." The contest between the disciples of Christ which should be the greatest, is expressed in the Saxon, which should be the yldest⁹. The aged were the primitive chiefs and governors among the Saxons, and therefore the terms expressing age were used to denote dignity so habitually that they were retained in common phrase even after the custom of connecting power with seniority had become obsolete.

THE most ancient account of the Saxon government on the continent exists in this short but expressive passage of Bede. "The ancient Saxons have no king, but many chiefs set over their people, who, when war presses, draw lots equally; and whomsoever the chance points out, they all follow as leader, and obey during the war. The war concluded, all the chiefs become again of equal power¹⁰."

THAT the continental Saxons in the eighth and preceding centuries were under an aristocracy of chieftains, and had no kings but in war; and that

⁷ Smith's edition of Bede, p. 624.

⁸ Luke xviii. v. 18. So the highest seats in the synagogue are called tha yldestan setl, Luke xx. 46. The Saxons had yldest wyrhta for the chief workman, yldest wicing for the chief of pirates, on scype yldost for a pilot, yeldest on tham yfelan floce for prince of that evil flock. So Bede's "he who by the priority of seat seemed to be their chief," lib. v. c. 13, is rendered by Alfred se wes setles yldest et me thuhte tha he heora ealdor beon sceolde, p. 633.

⁹ Luke xxii. v. 24.

¹⁰ Bede Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 10 p. 192.

the war-kings who were then chosen laid aside C H A P.
II. their power when peace was re-established, is attested by other ancient authorities¹¹. More recent historians have repeated the assertion¹². The illustrious Cæsar gives an account nearly similar of the German magistracy in his time¹³. We may, therefore, safely infer, that when the Anglo-Saxons visited England they came under war-kings. The reigns of Hengist, and the founders of the dynasties of the Oſtarchy, were so many periods of continued warfare, and their immediate posterity were

¹¹ The ancient Saxon poet says,

Quæ nec rege fuit saltem sociata sub uno

Ut se militiæ pariter defenderet usu :

Sed variis divisa modis plebs omnis habebat,

Quot pagos, tot pene duces.

Du Chesne.

Si autem universale bellum ingrueret, forte eligitur cui omnes obedire oporteat ad administrandum imminens bellum. Quo peracto æquo jure ac lege propria contentus potestate unusquisque vivebat.—*Witichind*, lib. i. p. 7. So the Vetus Theotisce-Chronicon on the year 810. Twelff Edelinges der Sassen de reden over dat lant tho Sassen. Und Wannere dat se krich in dat lant tho Sassen hadden so koren se von den twelffen einen, de was ore Koning de wile de krich warde. Und wan de krich bericht wart, so weren de twelffe gelick, so was des einen koniges state uth, und was den anderon gelick.—*Lindenb. Gloss.* 1347.

¹² Krantz *Mehopol.* lib. i. c. 1, and Belli *Dithmar.* p. 431. Fabricius *Hist. Sax.* i. p. 69. Sagittarius *Hist. Bard.* 60.

¹³ Quum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert, magistratus qui eo bello præsent, ut vitæ necisque habeant potestatem deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt controversiasque minuunt.—*De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. c. 21.

assailed

BOOK
I.

affailed with hostility from the natives almost perpetual. The Anglo Saxons were under a necessity of continuing their war-kings, until at length a permanent, though a limited monarchy, was established. Their chiefs, or witeana, continued in their influence and power. They elected the king, though they chose him from the family of the deceased sovereign; and their consent in their gemot continued to be necessary to the more important acts of his authority. But these points will be more fully illustrated in a subsequent division of this work.

THERE were four orders of men among the ancient Saxons: the Etheling or noble, the free man, the freed man, and the servile. The nobles were jealous of their race and rank. Nobles married nobles only, and the severest penalties prohibited intrusions of one rank into the others¹⁴.

Of their laws, in their pagan state, very little can be detailed from authority sufficiently ancient. From the uniformity of their principles of legislation in continental Saxony and in England, in a subsequent age, we may infer, that pecuniary compensation was their general mode of redressing personal injuries, and of punishing criminal offences. This feature certainly announces that the spirit of legislation began to be understood, and that the sword of punishment had been wrested, by the government, out of the hand of the vindictive individual. It also displays a state of society in which property was accumulating. It is, however, a form

¹⁴ Meginhard 2 Lang. p. 40. Nithardus, lib. iv. Hucbald Vita B. Lebuini Aët. Sanct. vol. vi. p. 282, and Witichind.

of punishment which is adapted to the first epochas C H A P.
II.
of civilization only, because as wealth is more generally possessed, pecuniary mulcts become legal impunity.

THEIR severity against adultery was personal and sanguinary. If a woman became unchaste she was compelled to hang herself, her body was burnt, and over her ashes the adulterer was executed. Or else a company of females whipped her from district to district, and, dividing her garments near the girdle, they pierced her body with their knives. They drove her, thus bleeding, from their habitations; and wheresoever she went, new collections of women renewed the cruel punishment till she expired¹⁵. This dreadful custom shews that the savage character of the nation was not confined to the males. Female chastity is indeed a virtue as indispensable as it is attractive; but its proper guardians are the maternal example and tuition, the constitutional delicacy of the female mind, its native love of honour, and the uncorrupted voice and feeling of society. If it can be only maintained by the horrors of a Saxon punishment, the nation is too barbarous or too contaminated, to be benefited, by the penalty.

IN their marriages they allowed a son to wed his father's widow, and a brother his sister-in-law¹⁶.

By one of the laws of their confederates, the Frisians, who were among the tribes that settled in

¹⁵ Boniface describes this custom in his letter to Ethelbald, the king of Mercia, in *Mag. Bibl. Patrum*, tom. xvi. p. 55.

¹⁶ Sax. Chron. Bede i. c. 27. p. 64.

B O O K England, we learn that their religious establishment
¹
 was protected by penalties as terrible as those
 which guarded their chastity. "Whoever breaks
 " into a temple and takes away any of the sacred
 " things, let him be led to the sea, and in the sand
 " which the tide usually covers, let his ears be cut
 " off, let him be castrated, and immolated to the
 " gods whose temples he has violated " ."

¹⁷ *Lex Fris.* ep. 1. *Lindenb.* p. 503.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

The Religion of the Saxons in their Pagan State.

AT this happy period of the world we cannot reflect on the idolatry of ancient times without astonishment at the infatuation which has so inveterately, in various regions, clouded the human mind. We feel, indeed, that it is impossible to contemplate the grand canopy of the universe; to descry the planets moving in governed order; to find comets darting from system to system in an orbit of which a space almost incalculable is the diameter; to discover constellations beyond constellations in endless multiplicity, and to have indications of the light of others whose full beam of splendor has not yet reached us; we feel it impossible to meditate on these innumerable theatres of existence, without feeling with awe that this amazing magnificence of nature announces an author tremendously great. But it is very difficult to conceive how the lessons of the skies should have taught that localizing idolatry which their transcendent grandeur, and almost infinite extent, seem expressly calculated to destroy.

THE most ancient religions of the world appear to have been pure theism, with neither idols nor temples. These essential agents in the political mechanism of idolatry were unknown to the ancient

Pelasgians,

B O O K ^{1.} Pelasgians, from whom the Grecians chiefly sprung, and to the early Egyptians and Romans. The Jewish patriarchs had them not, and even our German ancestors, according to Tacitus, were without them.

IN every nation but the Jewish a more gross system of superstition was gradually established. The Deity was dethroned by the symbols which human folly selected as his representatives; the most ancient of these were the heavenly bodies, the most pardonable objects of erring adoration. But when it was found possible to make superstition a profitable craft, then departed heroes and kings were exalted into gods. Delirious fancy soon added others so profusely, that the air, the sea, the rivers, the woods, and the earth, became so stocked with divinities, that it was easier, as an ancient sage remarked, to find a deity than a man.

WHEN the Anglo-Saxons came into Britain they had also abandoned the nobler customs of their ancestors for the degrading practice of idolatry. Their peculiar system is too imperfectly known to us for its stages to be discriminated, or its progress detailed. It appears to have been of a very mixed nature, and to have been so long in existence as to have attained a regular establishment and much ceremonial pomp.

THAT when they settled in Britain they had idols, altars, temples, and priests; that their temples were surrounded with inclosures; that they were profaned if lances were thrown into them; and that it was not lawful for a priest to bear arms,

or

or to ride but on a mare, we learn from the unquestionable authority of our venerable Bede ^{CHAP. III.}.

SOME of the subjects of their adoration we find in their names for the days of the week.

Sunday, or Sunnan dæg, is the Sun's day.
 Monday, or Monan dæg, is the Moon's day.
 Tuesday, or Tiwes dæg, is Tiw's day.
 Wednesday, or Wodnes dæg, is Woden's day.
 Thursday, or Thunres dæg, is Thunre's day.
 Friday, or Frige dæg, is Friga's day.
 Saturday, or Seternes dæg, is Seterne's day.²
 Of the sun and moon we can only state, that their sun was a female deity, and their moon was of the male sex³; of their Tiw we know nothing but his name

¹ Bede, lib. ii. c. 13 et 9; lib. iii. c. 8; lib. ii. c. 6. Pope Gregory mentions that if their pagan temples were well built they might be used for Christian churches, lib. i. c. 30. Their name for idol was wig, and for altar wigbed, the table or bed of the idol. The word wig also signifies war, and this may imply either that the idol was a warrior, or the god of war.

² I take the Saxon names of the days of the week from the Cotton MS. Tiberius A. 3. They may be also found in the Saxon gospels, p. 24 S. 72 M. 55 T. 48 W. 49 Th. 28 F. 52 S.

³ The same peculiarity of genders obtained in the ancient northern language. Edda Semundi, p. 14. It is curious that in the passage of an Arabian poet, cited by Pocock, in not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 13, we meet with a female sun and masculine moon. The distich is,

Nec nomen femininum foli dedecus,
 Nec masculinum lunæ gloria.

See Marshall's Observ. in Verf. Ev. p. 513. Caesar mentions that the Germans worshipped the sun and moon, lib. 6, c. 19. In the Saxon treatise on the vernal equinox we have

B O O K name; Woden was the great ancestor from whom
 1. they deduced their genealogies. It has been already
 remarked, that the calculations from the Saxon
 pedigrees place Woden in the third century*. Of
 the Saxon Woden, his wife Friga, and of Thunr
 we know very little, and it would not be very pro-
 fitable to detail all the reveries which have been
 published about them. The Odin, Frigg, and Thor
 of the Northmen were obviously the same characters,
 but we are not authorized to ascribe to the Saxon
 deities the apparatus and mythology which the
 northern scalds of subsequent ages have transmitted
 to us from Denmark, Iceland and Norway. Woden
 was the predominant idol of the Saxon adoration,
 but we can state no more of him unless we describe
 the Odin of the Danes and Norwegians. Yet as
 every people has its peculiar superstitions it would
 be incorrect to apply to the more ancient Woden
 of the Saxons the religious costume and creed at-
 tached to the Danish Odin. It will be better to
 confess our ignorance of the Saxon superstition

have their peculiar genders of these bodies displayed.
 "When the sun goeth at evening under this earth then is
 "the earth's breadth between us and the sun; so that we
 "have not *her* light till *he* rises up at the other end." Of
 the moon it says, "always *he* turns *his* ridge to the sun."
 "The moon hath no light but of the sun, and *he* is of all
 "stars the lowest."—Cotton MS. Tib. A. iii. p. 63. †

* 2 Anglo-Saxons, p. 32. Perhaps Hleothor, the Saxon
 for oracle, may have some reference to Thor. Hleo means
 a shady place, or an asylum. Hleothor is literally the re-
 tirement of Thor. Hleothor cwyde means the saying of an
 oracle. Hleothorðede the place of an oracle.

wherever

wherever it exists, and to reserve for a separate occasion the idolatry of the later northmen¹. C H A P.
III.

THE

¹ Without imitating those who have lately fancied that there never was an Odin, that he is merely a mythological personage, the name of a deity, we may remark that the date of Odin's appearance in the north cannot be accurately ascertained. This difficulty has arisen partly from the confusion in which, from their want of chronology, all the incidents of the north, anterior to the eighth century, are involved, and partly from the wild and discordant fictions of the scalds, who have clouded the history of Odin by their fantastic mythology. The same obscurity attends the heroes of all countries who have been deified after death, and upon whose memory the poets have taken the trouble to scatter the weeds as well as the flowers of their fancy. The human existence of Odin appears to me to be satisfactorily proved by two facts. 1st, The founders of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy deduced their descent from Odin by genealogies in which the ancestors are distinctly mentioned up to him. These genealogies have the appearance of greater authenticity by not being the servile copies of each other; they exhibit to us different individuals in the successive stages of the ancestry of each, and they claim different children of Odin as the founders of the lines. These genealogies are also purely Anglo-Saxon. 2d, The other circumstance is, that the northern chroniclers and scalds derive their heroes also from Odin by his different children. Snorre, in his Ynglinga Saga, gives a detailed history of Sweden regularly from him, and though the northerners cannot be suspected of having borrowed their genealogies from the Anglo-Saxons, yet they agree in some of the children ascribed to Odin. This coincidence between the genealogies preserved in their new country of men who left the north in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the genealogies of the most celebrated heroes who acted in the north during the subsequent ages, could not have arisen if there never had been an Odin who left such children. I have already expressed my opinion that the Anglo-Saxon genealogies lead us to the most

BOOK
I.

THE names of two of the Anglo-Saxon goddesses have been transmitted to us by Bede. He mentions RHEDA, to whom they sacrificed in March, which from her rites received the appellation of Rehd-monath, and EOSTRE, whose festivities were celebrated in April, which thence obtained the name of Eostre monath⁶. Her name is still retained to express the season of our great paschal solemnity, and thus the memory of one of the idols of our ancestors will be perpetuated as long as our language and country continue. Their name for a goddess was gydena, and as the word is applied as a proper name instead of Vesta⁷, it is not unlikely that they had a peculiar divinity so called.

THE idol adored in Heligland, one of the islands originally occupied by the Saxons, was FOSETE, who was so celebrated that the place became known by his name; it was called Fosetefland. Temples were there built to him, and the country was deemed so sacred that none dared to touch any animal which fed on it, nor to draw water from a fountain which flowed there unless in awful silence. In the eighth century, Willebrord, a converted Anglo-Saxon, born in Northumbria, who, under the auspices of his uncle Boniface, went missionary to Friesland, endeavoured to destroy the superstition, though Radbod, the fierce king of the island, devoted to a cruel death all who violated it. Wille-

probable date of Odin's arrival in the north. See vol. ii. of this history, p. 32. Nothing, however, that is certain or accurate can be stated on this subject.

⁶ Bede de temporum ratione, in his works, vol. ii. p. 81.

⁷ See Saxon Dictionary voc. Gydena.

brord, fearless of the consequences, baptized three men in the fountain, invoking the Trinity, and caused some cattle who were feeding there to be killed for the food of his companions. The surrounding pagans expected them to have been struck dead or insane⁸.

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THAT the Angles had a goddess whom they called Herthas, or mother Earth, we learn from Tacitus. He says, that in an island in the ocean there was a grove, within which was a vehicle covered with a garment, which it was permitted to one priest to touch. The goddess was presumed to be within it, and was carried by cows with great veneration. Joy, festivity, and hospitality, were then universal. Wars and weapons were forgotten, and peace and quiet reigned, then only known, then only loved, until the priest returned the goddess to her temple, satiated with mortal converse. The vehicle, the garment, and the goddess herself, were washed in a secret lake. Slaves ministered, whom the waters ingulphed⁹.

THE Saxons dreaded an evil being, whom they named Faul¹⁰; some kind of female power they called an Elf, who is very frequently used as a com-

⁸ Alcuini vita S. Willebrord in his works, p. 1438, or in Sanct. Hist. Col. v. 6. p. 13c. Charles Martel conquered Radbod, and added the island to his dominions, ib. St. Liudger, who died in 809, destroyed the temples of Fofete. See his life by Altfriidus, who was alive in 848, in Act. Sanct. Bolland. March. tom. 3. p. 646.

⁹ Tacit. de mor. German.

¹⁰ That Faul might not hurt was part of one of their exorcisms. See Sax. Dict. voce Faul.

BOOK
I. plimentary simile to their ladies. Thus Judith is said to be elf scinu, shining as an elf¹¹. They also venerated stones, groves, and fountains¹². The continental Saxons respected the lady Hera, a fancied being, who was believed to fly about in the air in the week after their Jule, or between our Christmas and Epiphany. Abundance was thought to follow her visit¹³. We may add that Hilde, one of their terms for battle, seems to allude to a war goddess of that name.

THAT the Saxons had many idols, appears from several authors. Gregory, in the eighth century, addressing the old Saxons, exhorts them to abandon their idols whether of gold, silver, brass, stone, or any other kind¹⁴. But we cannot give an au-

¹¹ So Judith, p. 21.

¹² See Meginhard. Conrad Usperg. Wilkins, 83. Linden. Gloss, 1473.

¹³ Gobelin ap. Meiborn. Irminfula. p. 12. We may add that Bede, in his commentary on Luke, mentions demons appearing to men as females, and to women as men, whom, he says, the Gauls call Dufii, the presumed origin of our word deuce. Hincmar, in 16 Bib. Mag. 561. But he does not say that these demons were part of the Saxon paganism. There were two personages feared in the north, whom we may mention here, as words from their names have become familiar to ourselves; one was Oghus Bochus, a magician and demon, the other was Neccus, a malign deity who frequented the waters. If any perished in whirlpools, or by cramp, or bad swimming, he was thought to be seized by Neccus. Steel was thought to expel him, and therefore all who bathed threw some little pieces of steel in the water for that purpose. Verel. Suio Goth. p. 13. It is probable that we here see the origin of hocus pocus and Old Nick.

¹⁴ 16 Bib. Mag. 101.

authentic description of their figures. Hama, Flinnus, Siba, and Zernebogus, or the black malevolent, ill-omened deity, occupied part of their superstitions, but we cannot be answerable for more than their names¹⁵. A Saxon Venus has been also mentioned; she is exhibited as standing naked in a car, with myrtle round her head, a lighted torch in her breast, and the figure of the world in her right hand. But the description is suspicious, and the authority feeble¹⁶.

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III.

THE account of Crodus has stronger marks of authenticity; it seems to have been preserved in the Brunswick Chronicle, from which more recent historians have taken their descriptions. The figure of Crodus was a reaper, clothed in a white tunic; with a linen girdle; his right hand held a vessel full of roses and other flowers, swimming in water. His left hand supported the wheel of a car; his naked feet stood on a rough scaly fish like a perch¹⁷.

THAT the Saxons had the dismal custom of hu-

¹⁵ Fabricius Hist. Sax. p. 62. Verstigan describes the idol Flynt as the image of death in a sheet, holding a torch, and placed on a great flint-stone. He also mentions the names of Helmsteed, Prono, Fidegast, and Sieve. He gives the figures of others, but as he has referred to no authorities, I think his descriptions ought not to be used.

¹⁶ Gyraldus says he read of this idol in the Saxon histories. Worm. Mon. p. 19.

¹⁷ Albinus Nov. Sax. Hist. p. 70, and Fabricius, p. 61. What Fabricius calls the gentes annales on this subject Albinus refers to as the Brunswicense Chronicon. Verstigan from Joannes Pomarius mentions Seater as another name of this idol, from whom he derives Saturday.

BOOK man sacrifices on some occasions, cannot be doubted.

I. Tacitus mentions it as a feature of all the Germans, that on certain days they offered human victims to their chief deity¹⁸. Sidonius attests, that on their return from a depredation the Saxons immolated one tenth of their captives selected by lot¹⁹. We have already mentioned that for sacrilege the offender was sacrificed to the god whose temple he had violated²⁰; and Ennodius mentions of the Saxons, Heruli and Franks, that they were believed to appease their deities with human blood²¹. But whether human sacrifices were an established part of their superstitious ritual, or whether they were but an occasional immolation of captives or criminals cannot be decided. The latter is most probable²².

Of the Anglo-Saxon idolatry we cannot learn many particulars. In the month of February they offered cakes to their deities, which occasioned the

¹⁸ De moribus Germ.

¹⁹ Sid. Apoll. ep. vi. l. 8,

²⁰ See before, p. 14.

²¹ Ennodius in Mag. Bib. Pol. 15. p. 306.

²² Of the human sacrifices of the northmen we have more express testimony. Dithmar apud Steph. 92, says, that in Seland, in January, they slew ninety-nine men, and as many horses, dogs, and cocks, to appease their deities. Snorre mentions a king of Sweden who immolated nine of his sons to Odin to obtain an extension of life, i. p. 34. He also states that the Swedes sacrificed one of their sovereigns to Odin to obtain plenty, ib. p. 56. When the famine began oxen were offered up; in the following autumn they proceeded to human victims, and at last destroyed their king. Dudo Quint. says, they slew cattle and men in honour of Thor. For other instances of human sacrifices in the north see Herv Saga, 97; Ara Frode, 63. 145; Kristni Saga, 93.
month

month to be called Sol monath. September, from its religious ceremonies, was denominated Halig monath, the holy month. November was marked, as the month of sacrifices, Blot monath, because at this period they devoted to their gods the cattle that they slew²³. As it was their custom to use during the winter salted or dried meat, perhaps November, or Blot monath, was the period when the winter provision was prepared and consecrated.

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THEIR celebrated festival of Geol, or Jule, which occurred at the period of our Christmas, was a combination of religion and conviviality. December was called erra Geola, or before the Geol. January was eftera Geola, or after it. As one of the Saxon names for Christmas day was Geola, or Geohol deg, it is likely that this was the time when the festival commenced. This day was the first of their year, and as Bede derives it from the turning of the sun, and the days beginning then to lengthen²⁴; as it was also called mother night, and their sun was worshipped as a female, I suspect that this was a festival dedicated to the sun.

BUT the Saxon idol, whose celebrity on the

²³ Bede de temporum ratione, p. 81. See a good description of a Danish sacrifice in Snorre Saga Hak. God, c. 16.

²⁴ Ibid. I see that *gyl sunne* once occurs in a hymn "Let the sun shine." See Dict. voc. Gyl. They who desire to see the opinions which have been given of the derivation of the Geol will be benefited by Hickes Dissert. Ep. p. 212, &c.

BOOK continent was the most eminent, was the IRMIN-
I. SULA²⁵.

THE name of this venerated idol has been spelt with varying orthography. The Saxon chronicle, published at Mentz in 1492, calls it Armenfula, which accords with the pronunciation of modern Saxony. The appellation adhered to by Meibomius, the most elaborate investigator of this curious object of Saxon idolatry, is Irminfula²⁶.

It stood at Eresberg, on the Dimele²⁷. This place the Saxon chronicle above-mentioned calls Marsburg. The Rhyming chronicle of the thirteenth century writes it Mersberg, which is the modern name²⁸.

Its temple was spacious, elaborate, and magnificent. The image was raised upon a marble column²⁹.

THE predominant figure was an armed warrior, Its right hand held a banner, in which a red rose was conspicuous; its left presented a balance. The crest of its helmet was a cock; on its breast was engraven a bear, and the shield depending from its shoulders exhibited a lion in a field full of flowers³⁰. The expressions of Adam of Bremen seem

²⁵ The most complete account of this idol is in the Irminfula Saxoniça, by Henry Meibomius. It is in the third volume of his Rerum German. Hist. published by the two Meibomii.

²⁶ Meibom. p. 6. It has been called Irminfulus, Irminful, Irmindful, Erminful, Erminful, Hermansful, Hormenful, Hermesful, Hermensful, and Adurmensful, *ibid*.

²⁷ *Ibid*. c. ii. p. 6. ²⁸ *Ibid*. p. 7. ²⁹ *Ibid*. c. iii. p. 8.

³⁰ *Ibid*. p. 9. The particular descriptions of this idol are all taken from the Saxon chronicle, printed at Mentz.

to intimate that it was of wood, and that the place C H A P.
III. where it stood had no roof. It was the largest idol of all Saxony, and, according to Rolwinck, a writer of the fifteenth century, whose authorities are not known to us, though the warlike image was the principal figure three others were about it³¹. From the Vernacular Chronicle we learn that the other Saxon temples had pictures of the Irminfula³².

PRIESTS of both sexes attend the temple. The women applied themselves to divination and fortune-telling; the men sacrificed, and often intermeddled with political affairs, as their sanction was thought to insure success.

THE priests of the Irminfula at Eresberg appointed the gow graven, the governors of the districts of continental Saxony. They also named the judges, who annually decided the provincial disputes. There were sixteen of these judges: the eldest, and therefore the chief, was called Gravius; the youngest, Frono, or attendant; the rest were Freyerichter, or free judges. They had jurisdiction over seventy-two families. Twice a-year, in April and October, the Gravius and the Frono went to Eresberg, and there made a placatory offering of two wax lights and nine pieces of money. If any of the judges died in the year the event was notified to the priests, who out of the seventy-two families chose a substitute. In the open air, before the door of the person appointed, his election was seven times announced to

³¹ Meib. 9.

³² Ibid. 9.

B O O K the people in a loud voice, and this was his inauguration.
{

In the hour of battle the priests took their favourite image from its column, and carried it to the field. After the conflict, captives and the cowardly of their own army, were immolated to the idol³³. Meibomius states two stanzas of an ancient song, in which the son of a Saxon king, who had lost a battle, complains that he was delivered to the priest to be sacrificed³⁴. He adds that, according to some writers, the ancient Saxons, and chiefly their military, on certain solemn days, clothed in armour and brandishing iron cestus, rode round the idol, and sometimes dismounting to kneel before it, bowed down and murmured out their prayers for help and victory³⁵.

To whom this great image was erected is a question full of uncertainty; because *Eppus* approached the fount of Irminful, and *Apus* that of Eresberg, it has been referred to Mars and Mercury³⁶. Some considered it a memorial of the celebrated Armij-

³³ Meib. 10.

³⁴ The verses are,

Sol ich nun in Gottes fronen hende
 In meinen aller besten Tagen
 Geben werden und sterben so elende
 Das musz ich wol hochlich klagen.

Wen mir das Glucke fuget hette
 Des streites einen guten ende
 Dorffte ich nicht leisten diese wette
 Netzen mit blut die hire wende.

Meib. 19.

³⁵ Meib. 11.

³⁶ Ibid. c. v. p. 11.

nus;

nus³⁷; and one has laboured to prove that it was an hieroglyphical effigy, intended for no deity in particular³⁸. C H A P.
III.

IN 772 the venerated object of Saxon superstition was thrown down and broken, and its fame destroyed by Charlemagne. For three days the work of demolition was carried on by one part of the army, while the other remained under arms. Its immense wealth and precious vessels were distributed to the conquerors, or devoted to pious uses³⁹.

THE fate of the column of the image after its eversion may be noticed⁴⁰. It was thrown into a

³⁷ The names to this supposition are very respectable.

³⁸ Joannes Goropius Beccanius is the person whose revelations are given at length in Meibomius, 13—17. Hermanful literally expresses, "The Pillar of the Lord, the Moon, or the Lord Man," whom the Germans, according to Tacitus, revered. But there is no dependence to be placed on etymological derivations; we must therefore be content to leave the subject in all the obscurity with which time has covered it.

³⁹ Meib. p. 18. The image is said to have been long preserved in the monastery at Corbey. It then bore this inscription: "Formerly I was the leader and god of the Saxons. The people of war adored me. The nation who worshipped me governed the field of battle." Ibid.

⁴⁰ It was about eleven feet long, and the circumference of the base was about twelve cubits. The base was of rude stone, or of gravel-stone. The column was marble, of a light red colour. Its belts were of orichalcus; the upper and lower gilt, and also the one between these and the crown, which is also gilt, as is the upper circle incumbent on it, which has three heroic verses. The whole work was surrounded with iron rails, dentated to preserve it from injury. Meib. 31. He has given a plate of it.

waggon,

B O O K waggon, and buried on the Weser, in a place where

1. Corbey afterwards stood. It was found again in the reign after Charlemagne, and was transported beyond the Weser. The Saxons attempting to rescue it, a battle ensued on the spot, which was afterwards called Armenfula from the incident. The Saxons were repulsed, and to prevent further chances, the image was hastily thrown into the Inner. A church being afterwards built in the vicinity at Hillelheim, it was conveyed into it after much religious lustration, and placed in the choir, where it long served to hold their lights at their festivals⁴¹. For many ages it remained neglected and forgotten, till at length Meibomius saw it, and a canon of the church, friendly to his studies, had its rust and discoloration taken off⁴².

Idolatrous nations are eminently superstitious. The proneness of mankind to search into futurity attempts its gratification, in the æras of ignorance, by the fallacious use of auguries, lots, and omens.

ALL the German nations were addicted to those absurdities, and the account which Tacitus relates of them generally is applied by Meginhard to the ancient Saxons. They were infatuated to believe that the voices and flights of birds were interpreters of the divine will. Horses were supposed to neigh from celestial inspiration, and they decided their public deliberations by the wisdom of lots. They cut a small branch of a fruit-tree into twigs, marked them, and scattered them at random on a white vest. The priest, if it were a public council, or

⁴¹ Meib. 19 and 31.

⁴² Ibid. 19.

the father, at a private consultation, prayed, gazed at heaven, drew each three times, and interpreted according to the mark previously impressed. If the omen were adverse the council was deferred⁴³. C H A P.
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To explore the fate of an impending battle, they selected a captive of the nation opposing, and appointed a chosen Saxon to fight with him. They judged of their future victory or defeat by the issue of this duel⁴⁴.

THE notion which from Chaldea pervaded both east and west, that the celestial luminaries influenced the fortunes of mankind, operated powerfully on the Saxon mind. Affairs were thought to be undertaken with better chance on peculiar days, and the full or new moon was the indication of the auspicious season⁴⁵.

MAGIC, the favourite delusion of ignorant man, the invention of his malignity, or the resort of his imbecility, prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons. Even one of their kings chose to meet the Christian missionaries in the air because he fancied that magical arts had peculiar power within a house⁴⁶. But we will reserve a full account of the superstitions of our ancestors for a subsequent chapter.

⁴³ Tacit. de morib. Germ. and Meginhard, p. 39. and see Bede, p. 144, 147. In the law of the Frisians there is a curious order of determining by lot, with twigs, who was guilty of a homicide when it occurred in a popular tumult. See it in Lindenb. i. p. 496. Alfred, in his version of Bede, says, they hluton mid tanum, they cast lots with twigs, p. 624.

⁴⁴ Meginhard, ib.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Bede, i. c. 25, p. 61.

CHAP. IV.

On the Menology and Literature of the Pagan Saxons.

BOOK
I. **I**N their computation of time our ancestors reckoned by nights instead of days, and by winters instead of years. Their months were governed by the revolution of the moon. They began their year from the day which we celebrate as Christmas-day, and that night they called Moedrenech, or mother night, on account of the ceremonies in which it was spent. In the common years they appropriated three lunar months to each of the four seasons. When their year of thirteen months occurred, they added the superfluous month to their summer season, and by that circumstance had then three months of the name of Lida, which occasioned these years of thirteen months to be called Tri-Lidi. The names of their months were these :

Giuli, or æftera Geola, answering to our January.			
Sol monath,	—	—	February.
Rehd monath,	—	—	March.
Eostur monath,	—	—	April.
Tri-milchi,	—	—	May.
Lida,	—	—	June.
Lida,	—	—	July.
Weird, or Wenden monath,	—	—	August.
Halig monath,	—	—	September.
Wynty-			

Wyntyr fylleth,	—	—	—	October.	C H A P. IV.
Bloth monath,	—	—	—	November.	
Giuli, or ærra Geola,	—	—	—	December.	

THEY divided the year into two principal parts, summer and winter. The six months of the longer days were applied to the summer portion, the remainder to winter. Their winter season began at their month Wyntyr fylleth, or October. The full moon in this month was the era of the commencement of this season, and the words Wyntyr fylleth were meant to express the winter full moon.

THE reason of the names of their months of Sol monath, Rehd monath, Eostur monath, Halig monath, and Bloth monath, we have already explained. Bede thus accounts for the others :

TRI-MILCHI expressed that their cattle were then milked three times a day. Lida signifies mild or navigable, because in these months the serenity of the air is peculiarly favourable to navigation. Wenden monath implies that the month was usually tempestuous. The months of Geola were so called because of the turning of the sun on this day, and the diminution of the length of the night¹.

It has been much doubted whether the Anglo-Saxons had the use of letters when they possessed themselves of England. It is certain that no specimen of any Saxon writing, anterior to their con-

¹ This valuable account of the Saxon year is in Bede *De Temporum Ratione*, in the second volume of his works in the edition of Cologne, p. 81. Another Saxon menology may be seen in Wanley, 185 and 109, and a comparative one of the Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Icelanders, Danes, and Swedes, is in Hickes' *Gram. Anglo-Sax.* p. 214.

BOOK
I.

version to Christianity, can be produced. It cannot therefore be proved that they had letters by any direct evidence, and yet some reasons may be stated which make it not altogether safe to assert too positively that our ancestors were ignorant of the art of writing in their pagan state.

1st. ALPHABETICAL characters were used by the northern nations on the Baltic before they received Christianity²; and the origin of these is ascribed to Odin, who heads the genealogies of the ancient Saxon chieftains, as well as those of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark; and who is stated to have settled in Saxony before he advanced to the north³. Either the pagan Saxons were acquainted with the Runic characters, or they were introduced in the north after the fifth century, when the Saxons came to Britain, and before the middle of the sixth, when they are mentioned by Fortunatus, which is contrary to the history and traditions of the Scandinavian nations, and to probability. We may remark that Run is used in Anglo-Saxon⁴, as Runar in the Icelandic, to express letters or

² I would not attribute to the Runic letters an extravagant antiquity, but the inscriptions on rocks, &c. copied by Wormius in his *Literaturæ Runicæ*, and by Stephanus in his notes on Saxo, prove that the northerners used them before they received Christianity.

³ Snorre Ynglinga Saga.

⁴ So Cedmon uses the word, *run bith gerecenod* p. 73; *hwæt seo run bude*, p. 86; that he to him the letters should read and explain *hwæt seo run bude*, p. 90; he had before said, in his account of Daniel and Belshazzar, that the angel of the Lord wrat tha in wage worda gerynu baswe bocstafas, p. 93.

characters⁵. It is true that Odin used the runæ C H A P.
IV. for the purpose of magic, and that in Saxon run-
cræftig, or skilled in runæ, signifies a magician⁶;
but the magical application of characters is no ar-
gument against their alphabetical nature, because
many of the foolish charms which our ancestors and
other nations have respected, have consisted, not
merely of alphabetical characters, but even of words⁷.

2d. THE passage of Venantius Fortunatus, written
in the middle of the sixth century, attests that the
Runic was used for the purpose of writing in his
time. He says,

The barbarous Runæ is painted on ashen tablets,
- And what the papyrus says a smooth rod effects⁸.
Now, as the Anglo-Saxons were not inferior in civi-
lization to any of the barbarous nations of the
north, it cannot be easily supposed that they were
ignorant of Runic characters⁹ if their neighbours
used them.

⁵ Schilter's Thesaurus, vol. iii. p. 693.

⁶ Thus Cedmon says, the Run-cræftige men could not
read the hand-writing till Daniel came, p. 90.

⁷ One passage in a Saxon MS. confirms this idea: "Then
asked the ealdorman the hefling, whether through dry-
creft, or though *rynstafes* he had broken his bonds; and he
answered that he knew nothing of this craft." Vesp. D. 14.
p. 132. Now *ryn stafes* means literally *ryn letters*. We
may remark that the Welsh word for alphabet is *coel bren*,
which literally means the tree or wood of Omen; and see the
Saxon description of the northern Runæ in Hickes' Gram.
Ang Sax. p. 135.

⁸ Ven. Fortun. lib. vi. p. 814. Ed. Mag. Bib. tom viii.

⁹ There are various alphabets of the Runæ, but their dif-
ferences are not very great. I consider those characters to
be most interesting which have been taken from the ancient
inscriptions remaining in the north. Wormius gives these

BOOK
I.

3d. THOUGH it cannot be doubted that the letters of our Saxon MSS. written after their conversion, are of Roman origin, except only two, the *th* and the *w*, *p*, *p*, the thorn and the wen, yet these two characters are allowed by the best critics to be of Runic parentage¹⁰, and if this be true, it would shew that the Anglo-Saxons were acquainted with Runic as well as with Roman characters when they commenced the hand-writing that prevails in their MSS.

4th. If the Saxons had derived the use of letters from the Roman ecclesiastics, it is probable that they would have taken from the Latin language the words they would use to express them. Other nations, so indebted, have done this. To instance from the Erse language.

For book they have *leabhar*, from *liber*.

letter,	<i>litir</i> ¹¹ ,	<i>litera</i> .
to write,	<i>scriobham</i> ,	<i>scribere</i> .
	<i>grafam</i> ,	<i>γραφω</i> .
writing,	<i>sgriobhadh</i> ,	<i>scriptura</i> .
to read,	<i>leagham</i> , } <i>leabham</i> , }	<i>legere</i> .

Lit. Run. p. 58. Hickes, in his *Gram. Anglo-Idl.* c. i. gives several Runic alphabets.

¹⁰ The Saxons used three characters for *th*, *ð*, *ð*, and *p*. Of these the two first seem to be Roman capitals, with a small hyphen. Aftle, in his *History of Writing*, p. 7 and 8, gives these d's. The other *p* is the Runic d. See Wormius, p. 58. The Runic d, in some dialects, was pronounced *th*: so *duſ*, a giant, or spectre of the woods, as given by Wormius, p. 94, is by other writers written thus. I consider the *p* to be taken from the *p*.

¹¹ In the Erse Testament Greek letters are expressed by *litrichibh Greigis*. Luke xxiii. v. 38.

But nations who had known letters before, they became acquainted with Róman literature would have indigenous terms to express them. C. H. A. P.
IV.

THE Saxons have such terms. The most common word by which the Anglo-Saxons denoted alphabetical letters was *stæf*; plural *stæfa*. Elfric, in his Saxon grammar, so uses it¹². The copy of the Saxon coronation oath begins with "This writing is written, *stæf be stæfe* (letter by letter), from that writing which Dunstan, archbishop, gave to our lord at Kingston¹³." In the same sense the word is used in Alfred's translation of Bede¹⁴, and in the Saxon gospels¹⁵. It is curious to find the same word so applied in the Runic mythology. In the *Vafthrudis-mal*, one of the odes of the ancient Edda of Semund, it occurs in the speech of Odin, who says "*fornum stavfom*" in the ancient letters¹⁶.

THE numerous compound words derived from *stæf*, a letter, shew it to have been a radical term in the language, and of general application.

<i>Stæf-creft</i> ,	the art of letters.
<i>Stæfen-row</i> ,	the alphabet.
<i>Stæf-gefeg</i> ,	a syllable.
<i>Stæflíc</i> ,	learned.
<i>Stæfnian</i> ,	to teach letters.

¹² Cotton. Lib. Julius, A. 2.

¹³ Cotton. Lib. Cleop. B. 13.

¹⁴ Bede, 615. 633.

¹⁵ John, vii. v. 15. Luke, xxiii. v. 38.

¹⁶ Edda Semund, p. 3. In the Icelandic Gospels, for Latin and Hebrew letters we have *Latiniskum* and *Ebrefskum bokstefum*, Luke, xxiii. v. 38. The Franco-theotisc for letters has a similar compound word *bok-staven*.

Stæf plega, a game at letters.

Stæf-wife, wife in letters.

Stæfes-heafod, the head of the letters.

Stafa-nama, the names of the letters.

The same word was also used like the Latin *littera* to signify an epistle¹⁷.

THE art of using letters, or writing, is also expressed in Saxon by a verb not of Roman origin. The Saxon term for the verb to write is not, like the *Erse* expression, from the Latin, *scribere*, but is "awritan," or "gewritan." This verb is formed from a similar noun of the same meaning as *stæf*. The noun is preserved in the *Mæso-Gothic*, where *writs* signifies "a letter."

IN like manner the Saxons did not derive their word for book from the Latin *liber*; they expressed it by their own term "boc," as the northerns called it "bog."

I do not mean to assert indiscriminately, that whenever a word indigenous in a language is used to express writing, it is therefore to be inferred, that the people using that language have also letters; because it may so happen that the word may not have been an indigenous term for letters, but for something else, and may have been applied to ex-

¹⁷ When a letter or authoritative document is mentioned in Saxon, the expressions applied to it are not borrowed from the Latin *scriptum*, *mandatum*, *epistola*, and such like; but it is said, "Honorius sent the Scot a ge-writ," Sax. ch. 39; desired the Pope with his ge-writ to confirm it, ib. 38. So Alfred, translating Bede, says, "the pope sent to Augustin pallium and ge-writ," i. c. 29. here borrowing from the Latin the pallium, a thing known to them from the Romans, but using a native Saxon term to express the word epistle.

press letters only analogically or metaphorically. ^{C H A P. IV.}
 To give an instance: the Indians of New England expressed letters, or writing, by the terms wussukwhonk, or wussukwheg¹⁸. But the Indians had no letters nor writing among them; whence then had they these words? The answer is, that they were in the habit of painting their faces and their garments, and when we made them acquainted with writing, they applied to it their word for painting¹⁹. But though they could figuratively apply their term for painting to express writing, they had nothing to signify a book, and therefore it was necessary to ingraft our English word "book" into their language for that purpose²⁰.


THIS reasoning tempts me to believe, that the Anglo-Saxons were not unacquainted with alphabe-

¹⁸ Thus in the Indian Bible, "and this writing was written," Dan. v. 24. is rendered kah yeh wussukwheg unufukkuh whofu; "and this is the writing that was written," kah yeh wussukwhonk ne adt tannus-fukuh whofik, ib. v. 25. "Darius signed the writing," Darius sealham wussuk whofuonk, vi. v. 9. "And the writing was" wussuk whonk no. John xix. v. 19.

¹⁹ Thus wussukhofu was a painted coat. Williams' Key to the Language of America, p. 184. ed. 1643, and see his remark, p. 61. The Malays, who have borrowed their letters from other nations, have used the same analogy. Their word "to write" is toolis, which also signifies to paint. See Howison's Malay Dictionary.

²⁰ Hence the translator was obliged to express "this is the book of the generation" by uppometuogane book. Matt. i. v. 1. So, "I have found the book of the law," nunnamteoh naumatue book, 2 Kings, xxii. v. 8. "Hilkiah gave the book," Hilkiah aninnumauau book. Ibid. v. 9.

B O O K tical characters when they came into England.

 However this may be, it is certain that if they had ancient letters, they ceased to use them after their conversion, with the exception of their þ and p. It was the invariable policy of the Roman ecclesiastics to discourage the use of the Runic characters, because they were of pagan origin, and had been much connected with idolatrous superstitions²¹. Hence, as soon as the Christian clergy acquired influence in the Saxon octarchy, all that appeared in their literature was in the character which they had formed from the Romans.

WE know nothing of the compositions of the Anglo-Saxons in their pagan state. Tacitus mentions generally of the Germans, that they had ancient songs²², and therefore we may believe that the Anglo-Saxons were not without them. Indeed, Dunstan is said to have learned the vain songs of his countrymen in their pagan state; and we may suppose that if such compositions had not been in existence at that period, Edgar would not have forbidden men, on festivals, to sing heathen songs²³. But none of these have survived to us. If they were ever committed to writing, it was on wood or stones: indeed their word for book (boc) expresses a beech-tree, and seems to allude to the

²¹ The Swedes were persuaded by the Pope, in 1007, to lay aside the Runic letters, and to adopt the Roman in their stead. They were abolished in Denmark in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in Iceland soon after. Askle's History of Writing. p. 89.

²² De moribus German.

²³ Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 83.

matter of which their earliest books were made²⁴. C H A P.
IV.
 The poets of barbarous ages usually confide the little effusions of their genius to the care of tradition. They are seldom preserved in writing till literature becomes a serious study, and therefore we may easily believe, that if the Anglo-Saxons had alphabetical characters, they were much more used for divinations, charms, and funeral inscriptions, than for literary compositions.

²⁴ Wormius infers, that pieces of wood cut from the beech-tree were the ancient northern books, Lit. Run. p. 6. Saxo Grammaticus mentions, that Fengo's ambassadors took with them *litteras ligno insculptas*, because, adds Saxo, that was formerly a celebrated kind of material to write upon, lib. iii. p. 52. Besides the passage formerly cited from Fortunatus, we may notice another, in which he speaks of the bark as used to contain characters. See Worm. p. 9, who says, that no wood more abounds in Denmark than the beech, nor is any more adapted to receive impressions, ib. p. 7. In Welsh, *gwydd*, a tree, or wood, is used to denote a book. Thus Gwilym Tew talks of reading the *gwydd*. Owen's Dict. voc. *Gwydd*.

B O O K II.

Of the Manners of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAP. I.

On their Infancy, Childhood, and Names.

BOOK
II.

SUCH were the people who possessed themselves of the south part of Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries; and it may amuse us now to consider that the human character has seldom displayed qualities more inauspicious to the improvement of intellect or of moral character. They were bands of fierce, ignorant, idolatrous, and superstitious pirates, enthusiastically courageous, but habitually cruel. Yet from such ancestors a nation has, in the course of twelve centuries, been formed, which, inferior to none in every moral and intellectual merit, is superior to every other in the love and possession of useful liberty: a nation which cultivates with equal success the elegancies of art, the ingenious labours of industry, the energies of war, the researches of science, and the richest productions of genius.

THIS improved state has been slowly attained under the discipline of very diversified events. One gradation of the happy progress was effected during that period which it is the object of this work to elucidate.

THE Anglo-Saxons must have been materially improved in their manners and mental associations

by the internal state of Britain at the time of their C H A P.
I. invasion.

THEY came among a people who, for above three centuries, had been the obedient subjects of the Roman government; to whom the peaceful acquisition and enjoyment of regular property had become familiar; who had cultivated the luxuries which create a distaste for war, and love of indolent tranquillity; and whose country abounded with those works of art, that distribution of wealth, and those articles of convenience, which a rude mind cannot contemplate without feeling new wants and expecting new comforts; without having its curiosity agitated and its comprehension enlarged. It is true that the feuds which followed the departure of the Romans had disturbed the prosperity of the island, and the struggles with the Saxons must have spread much devastation. But the monuments and the fruits of the preceding civilization, though diminished, were not destroyed. After all the disorders of the period, Gildas still boasts of the island containing twenty-eight cities and some castles, with houses, walls, gates, and towers¹; and from the ruins of Caerlleon, as they continued even to the twelfth century, when they were seen by Giraldus, we may form some notion of the interior improvements of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. He says, "It was elegantly built by the Romans with brick walls. Many vestiges of its ancient splendor are yet remaining; stately palaces, which formerly, with their gilded tiles, dif-

¹ Gildas, p. 1.

B. O. O. K. II. "played the Roman grandeur. It was first built
 " by the Roman nobility, and adorned with sumptuous edifices; an exceeding high tower, remarkable hot baths, ruins of ancient temples and theatres; encompassed with stately walls, partly yet standing. Subterraneous edifices are frequently met with; not only within the walls, which are about three miles in circumference, but also in the suburbs, as aqueducts, vaults, hypocausts, and stoves²."

WE learn from Tacitus, that so early as the first century, the Romans applied themselves to civilize the Britons. The intelligent Agricola endeavoured to draw the natives from their dispersed population to those enjoyments of civilized life which tempt mankind to peace and leisure. For this purpose he extorted and assisted them to build houses, forums, and temples; he urged the nobles to have the minds of their sons imbued with the liberal arts, and to cultivate their talents by rhetorical studies³. The Britons submitted to the pleasing yoke of civilization: the Roman costume became fashionable; and the luxuries of their baths, porches, and entertainments, were valued and imitated. These facts will enable us to conceive that the Britons had become so much more advanced in the improvements of arts, knowledge, and luxury, than their fierce invaders, as to have been useful instruments in mitigating their barbarous customs, and accelerating their civilization.

² Girald. Camb. Itin. p. 836. Ed. Camb. and 1 Henry Hist. Engl. p. 269.

³ Tacit. de vita Agric.

THE first great change in the Anglo-Saxons appeared in the discontinuance of their piracies. They ceased to be the ferocious spoilers of the ocean and its coasts; they became land-owners, agriculturists, and industrious citizens; they seized and divided the acquisitions of British affluence, and made the commonalty of the island their slaves. Their war-leaders became territorial chiefs, and the conflicts of capricious and sanguinary robbery were exchanged for the possession and inheritance of property in its various sorts; for trades and manufactures; for useful luxuries, peaceful industry, and domestic comfort.

WE will proceed to consider them as they displayed their manners and customs during their occupation of England, and before the Norman conquest introduced new institutions.

THEIR tenderest and most helpless years were under the care of females. The gratitude of Edgar to his nurse appears, from his rewarding with grants of land the noble lady, wife of an ealdorman, who had nursed and educated him with maternal attention*. This was not unusual: Ethelstan, an Anglo-Saxon ætheling, says in his will, "I give to Alfswythe, my foster-mother, for her great deservings, the lands at Wertune that I bought of my father for two hundred and fifty mancusa of gold by weight".

THEY had infant baptism: hence the Saxon homily says, "though the child for youth may not

* Hist. Rames. 3 Gale, x. Script. 387. 405.

† Sax. Dict. App.

BOOK II. "speak when men baptise it". They were enjoined to baptise their children within thirty days after birth⁷. They baptised by immersion; for when Ethelred was plunged in, the royal infant disgraced himself. They used the cradle⁸. It is mentioned in the laws, of a person of the dignity of a gesithcund man, that when he travelled he might have with him his geresas, his smith, and his child's nurse⁹. Kings sometimes stood as godfathers, and their laws so venerated this relationship as to establish peculiar provisions to punish the man who slew another's godson or godfather¹⁰. On the death of the father, the children were ordered to remain under the care of the mother, who was to provide them with sustenance; for this she was to be allowed six shillings, a cow in summer, and an ox in winter; but his relations were to occupy the *frum-stol*, the head seat, until the boy became of age¹¹.

THE northmen were in the habit of exposing their children. The Anglo-Saxons seem not to have been unacquainted with this inhumanity; as one of the laws of Ina provides, that for the fostering of a foundling six shillings should be allowed the first year, twelve the next, thirty the third, and afterwards according to his wite, or his personal appearance and beauty¹².

BEDE mentions, that their period of infancy ended with the seventh year, and that the first year

⁶ Wanley, Catal. Sax. p. 196.

⁷ Wilkins Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 14.

⁸ Tha cild the læg on tham cradele, *ibid.* p. 145.

⁹ Wilkins, p. 25.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 20.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 19.

of their childhood began with the eighth¹³. In ^{C H A P.} the early stage he exhibits the person of whom he ^{1.} speaks as amusing himself with his play-fellows in the tricks and sports of his age, but as excelling in his dexterity, and in his power of pursuing them without fatigue¹⁴. It is hardly worth a line to remark, that the Anglo-Saxon child must have resembled every other: restless activity without an object, sport without reasoning, grief without impression, and caprice without affectation, are the usual characteristics of our earliest years in every age and climate.

As the Anglo-Saxons were not a literary people, it is natural that their childish occupations should be the exercises of muscular agility. Leaping, running, wrestling, and every contention and contortion of limb which love of play or emulation could excite, were their favourite sports. Bede describes his hero as boasting of his superior dexterity, and as joining with no small crowd of boys in their accustomed wrestlings in a field, where as usual, he says, they writhed their limbs in various but unnatural flexures¹⁵.

THE names of the Anglo-Saxons were imposed, as with us, in their infancy, by their parents. In several charters it is mentioned that the persons therein alluded to had been called from their cradles by the names expressed, and which they had received, "not from accident, but from the will of " their parents¹⁶."

¹³ Bede Vit. Cuthb. c. i. p. 229.

¹⁴ Bede, *ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 230.

¹⁶ MS. Claud. B. vi. p. 34 et 62, &c.

BOOK II. THEIR names seem to have been frequently compound words, rather expressive of caprice than of appropriate meaning. The appellation of Mucil, "large," which Alfred's wife's father bore¹⁷, may have been suggested by the size of the new-born infant, as hwithyfe, "the white boy," or Egbert, "bright eye," might have been imposed from some peculiar appearance. But the following names, when considered as applied first in infancy, appear to be as fantastic, and as much the effusions of vanity, as the lofty names so dear to modern parents.

Æthelwulf,	The noble wolf.
Berhtwulf,	The illustrious wolf.
Eadwulf,	The prosperous wolf.
Ealdwulf,	The old wolf.
Æthelwyn,	Noble in battle, or the noble man.
Eadric,	Happy and rich.
Ælfred,	An elf in council.
Hyndberht,	The illustrious hound.
Heardberht,	The illustrious protector.
Æthelheard,	The noble protector.
Sigered,	Victorious counsel.
Sigeric,	Victorious and rich.
Æthelred,	Noble in council.
Eadmund,	The prosperous patron.
Eadwin,	Prosperous in battle.
Ælfheag,	Tall as an elf.
Dunstan,	The mountain stone.
Æthelbald,	Noble and bold.
Wulfric,	Powerful as a wolf.
Eadward,	The prosperous guardian.
Ethelstan,	The noble stone.

¹⁷ Affer, p. 19.

OF the female names the meaning is more applicable, and sometimes displays better taste. We give ^{C H A. P. I.} the following as specimens taken as they occurred :

Æthelfwytha,	Very noble.
Selethrytha,	A good threatener.
Elfhild,	The elf of battle.
Beage,	The bracelet.
Ethelfritha,	Noble and powerful.
Adeleve,	The noble wife.
Eadburh,	The happy pledge.
Heaburge,	Tall as a castle.
Eadflæd,	The happy pregnancy.
Adelflæda,	The noble pregnancy.
Ælfgiva,	The elf favor.
Eadgifa,	The happy gift.
Æthelgifa,	The noble gift.
Wynfreda,	The peace of man.
Æthelhild,	The noble war goddess.
Ælfthrythe,	Threatening as an elf.

WE will subjoin a few specimens of the names prevailing in the same families.

A father and three daughters :

Dudda.	
Deorwyn,	Dear to man.
Deorfwythe,	Very dear.
Golde,	Golden.

A father and his four sons :

Æthelwyn,
Æthelwold,
Alfwold,
Athelfin,
Æthelwyn.

B O O K
II.

A brother and two sisters :

Leonric,

Adelfled,

Adeleve.

A husband, wife, and daughter :

Ridda,

Bugcga,

Heaburge.

To which we may add

Ethelwulph and his four sons :

Ethelbald,

Ethelbert,

Ethelred,

Alfred.

It has been a subject of discussion, whether the Anglo-Saxons used surnames. There can be no question that many were distinguished by appellations added to their original, or Christian names. Thus we find a person called Wulfsic se blaca, or the pale; Thurceles hwitan, or the white; others Æthelwerde Stameran, and Godwine Dreflan. Sometimes a person is designated from his habitation, as Ælfric at Bertune; Leonmære at Biggrafan. Very often the addition expresses the name of his father, as Ælfgar Ælfan suna, Ælmær Ælfrices suna, Sired Ælfrides Sunu, Godwine Wolfnothes suna, or more shortly Wulfrig Madding Badenoth Beotting. The office, trade, affinity, or possession is frequently applied to distinguish the individuals mentioned in the charters; as Leofwine Ealdorman, Sweigen Scyldwirhta, Eadwig his mæg, Ægelpig munuc, Ofword preost, Leowine se Canon

Heording gerefa, and such like ¹⁸. But although it ^{C H A P.}_{I.} is certain that such additional appellations were occasionally used by the Anglo-Saxons, yet they appear to have been but personal distinctions, and not to have been appropriated by them as family names in the manner of surnames with us. In the progress of civilization, the convenience of a permanent family denomination was so generally felt as to occasion the adoption of the custom. It is probable that the first permanent surnames were the appellations of the places of birth, or residence, or a favorite ancestor. To these the caprice of individual choice or popular fancy, the hereditary pursuit of peculiar trades, and the continued possession of certain offices, added many others, especially in towns. But this custom of appropriating a permanent appellation to particular families became established in the period which succeeded the Norman conquest.

¹⁸ See Hickes' Dissert. Epist. p. 22—25.

CHAP. II.

*Their Education.*BOOK
II.

WE cannot detail the particular course of education by which the Anglo-Saxons conducted their children to maturity, but some information may be gleaned. Their society was divided into two orders of men—laymen and ecclesiastics. Among the latter as much provision was made for intellectual improvement as the general darkness of the period would allow. The laity were more contented with ignorance; and neglecting the mind, of whose powers and nature they knew nothing, they laboured to increase the hardihood and agility of the body, and the intrepidity, perhaps the fierceness of the spirit.

SOME men, rising above the level of their age, endeavoured to recommend the use of schools. Thus Sigebert, in the seventh century, having enlarged his mind during his exile in France, as soon as he regained the East Anglian throne, established a school in his dominions for youth to be instructed in learning¹. So we find in Alfred's time, and under his improving auspices, most of the noble and many of the inferior orders were put under the care of masters, where they learnt both Latin and Saxon books, and also writing, that "before they cultivated the arts adapted to manly strength, like hunting, and such others as suited the noble,

¹ Bede.

“ they might make themselves acquainted with li-^{C H A P.}
 “ beral knowledge.” Hence Edward and Ælf-^{II.}
 thrythe are stated by Affer to have studiously learnt
 psalms and Saxon books, and chiefly Saxon
 poetry². But among the laity these were transient
 gleams of intellectual sunshine, neither general nor
 permanent. The great and powerful undervalued
 knowledge; hence Alfred’s brothers did not offer
 to attain the faculty of reading which he was tempt-
 ed to acquire³. Hence, even kings state in their
 charters, that they signed with the cross because
 they were unable to write⁴; and hence so many
 of Alfred’s earls, gerefas and thegns, who had been
 illiterate all their lives, were compelled by his wise
 severity to learn in their mature age, that they
 might not discharge their duties with such shameful
 insufficiency. It is mentioned on this occasion, that
 those who from age or want of capacity could not
 learn to read themselves, were obliged to have their
 son, kinsman, or, if they had none, one of their
 servants taught, that they might at least be read to,
 and be rescued from the total ignorance with which
 they had so long been satisfied. Affer expresses the
 great lamentations of these well-born, but untaught
 men, that they had not studied such things in their
 youth⁵. Nothing can more strongly display the
 general want of even that degree of education which
 our poorest charity children receive than these cir-
 cumstances,

² Affer.³ Ibid.⁴ In a MS. charter of Wihtred, in the possession of the late Mr. Aste, to the king’s mark was added, “ ad cujus confirmationem pro ignorantia literarum.”⁵ Affer.

HISTORY OF THE MANNERS, &c.

10 K THE clergy were the preceptors of those who
II. sought to learn; and though Alfred tells us how few even of these could read, yet our history of the Anglo-Saxon literature will shew some very brilliant exceptions. Such as they were, however, to them the moral and intellectual education of the age was entrusted. Thus Aldhelm's father, a prince, put him under the tuition of the Abbot Adrian⁶. Thus the Irish monk Maildulf, who settled at Malmfbury, and was well skilled in Greek and Latin, took scholars to earn subsistence⁷. From a passage in the biographer of Wilfred, we learn that children, who afterwards pursued the paths of ambition, received, in the first part of their lives, instruction from ecclesiastics. He says of Wilfrid, a bishop in the eighth century, "Princes and noble-
" men sent their children to him to be brought up,
" that they might be dedicated to God if they
" should chuse it; or that when full grown, he
" might present them in armour to the king, if
" they preferred it⁸."

WHEN they reached the age of fourteen, the aspiring, or the better conditioned, prepared themselves for arms. It was after completing his thirteenth year that Wilfrid, who had not then decided on a religious life, began to think of quitting the paternal roof. He obtained such arms, horses, and garments, for himself and his boys, as were necessary to enable him to present himself to the royal notice. With these he travelled till he reached the queen of the province. He met there some of the

⁶ Malmfb. 3 Gale, 338.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Eddius, p. 62.

nobles at her court whom he had attended at his father's house. They praised him, and introduced him to the queen, by whom he was graciously received. As he afterwards chose the path of devotion, she recommended him to one of the nobles who accompanied the king, but who was induced, by the pressure of a paralytic disease, to exchange the court for the cloister.⁹

THE Anglo-Saxons distinguished the period between childhood and manhood by the term *cniht-hæd*, knighthood. It is stated in Ina's laws, "that a *cniht* of ten winters old might give evidence¹⁰;" and Bede's expression, of a boy about eight years old, is translated by Alfred "*wæs eahta wintra cniht*."¹¹ A king also mentions of a circumstance, that he saw it *cniht wese*, being a *cniht*, or while a boy¹². It will be considered in another place how far the term bore the meaning of chivalry among the Anglo-Saxons. A daughter was under the power of her parents till the age of thirteen or fourteen, when she had the disposal of her person herself; at fifteen a son had the right of choosing his path of life, and might then become a monk, but not before¹³.

IN this season of *cniht*hood, or youth, we find them striving to excel each other at a horse-race. A person in Bede describes himself as one of a party, who on their journey came to a spacious plain, adapted to a horse-course. The

⁹ Eddius, p. 44.

¹⁰ Wilkins Leg. p. 16.

¹¹ Bede, v. c. 18. Alf. Transl. 635.

¹² Bede. Alf. Transl. p. 518.

¹³ 1 Wilk. Concil. 130.

HISTORY OF THE MANNERS, &c.

Many young men were desirous to prove their horses in the greater course, or as the Saxon translator expresses it, that we might run and try which had the swiftest horse. The individual spoken of at last joined them, but his animated horse, attempting to clear a concavity in the way, by a violent leap, he was thrown senseless against a stone, and with difficulty brought to life¹⁴.

THE Saxon youth seem to have been accustomed to habits of docility and obedience. The word *cniht* was also used to express a servant¹⁵; and Wilfrid is characterized as having in his youth attentively ministered to all his father's visitors, whether royal attendants or their servants¹⁶.

THE education of the Saxons was much assisted by the emigration of Irish ecclesiastics. We have mentioned Maildulf at Malmesbury; it is also intimated, in Dunstan's life, that some Irishmen had settled at Glastonbury, whose books Dunstan diligently studied. This great, but ambitious man, was arraigned in his youth for studying the vain songs of his pagan ancestors, and the frivolous charms of histories¹⁷.

AFTER the prevalence of Christianity a portion of the youth was taken into the monasteries. We have a description, in Saxon, of the employment of the boys there. One of these, in answer to the question 'What have you done to-day?' says, "Many things; when I heard the knell I arose from my bed and went to church, and sang the

¹⁴ Bede, lib. v. c. 6.

¹⁵ Gen. c. xxiv. v. 65. Luke, xii. v. 45.

¹⁶ Eddius, p. 44.

¹⁷ MS. Cleop. B. 13.

“ song for before day with the brethren, and after- C H A P. II.
 “ wards of All Saints, and at the dawn of day the
 “ song of praise. After these I said the first
 “ and seventh psalms, with the litany and first
 “ mass. Afterwards, before noon, we did the mass
 “ for the day, and after this, at mid-day, we
 “ sang, and eat, and drank, and slept, and again
 “ we rose and sang the noon, and now we are here
 “ before thee ready to hear what thou shalt say.”
 They had afterwards to sing the even and the night
 song. On being questioned why they learnt so in-
 dustriously, he is made to reply, “ Because we
 “ would not be like the stupid animals who know
 “ nothing but their grass and water¹⁸.”

“ MS. Tib. A. 3.

C H A P. III.

Their Food.

BOOK
II. **T**HEIR food was that mixture of animal and vegetable diet which always attends the progress of civilization. They reared various sorts of corn in inclosed and cultivated lands, and they fed domesticated cattle for the uses of their table.

For their animal food they had oxen, sheep, and great abundance of swine; they used, likewise, fowls, deers, goats, and hares; but though the horned cattle are not unfrequently mentioned in their grants and wills, and were often the subjects of exchange, yet the animals most numerously stated are the swine. The country in all parts abounded with wood, and woods are not often particularized without some notice of the swine which they contained. They also frequently appear in wills. Thus Alfred, a nobleman, gives to his relations an hide of land, with one hundred swine; and he directs one hundred swine to be given for his soul to one Minster, and the same number to another; and to his two daughters he gives two thousand swine¹. So Elfhelm gives land to St. Peter's at Westminster, on the express condition that they feed two hundred of these animals for his wife².

THEY eat various kinds of fish; but of this description of their animal food the species which is most profusely noticed is the eel. They used eels

¹ Will. in App. Sax. Dict.

² Ibid.

as abundantly as swine. Two grants are mentioned, each yielding one thousand eels³, and by another two thousand were received as an annual rent. Four thousand eels were a yearly present from the monks of Ramsey to those of Peterborough⁴. We read of two places, purchased for twenty-one pounds, wherein sixteen thousand of these fish were caught⁵ every year; and in one charta, twenty fishermen are stated, who furnished, during the same period, sixty thousand eels to the monastery⁶. Eel dikes are often mentioned in the boundaries of their lands.

IN the dialogues composed by Elfric to instruct the Anglo-Saxon youths in the Latin language, which are yet preserved to us⁷, we have some curious information concerning the manners and trades of our ancestors. In one colloquy the fisherman is asked, 'What gettest thou by thine art?' "Big loaves, cloathing, and money." 'How do you take them?' "I ascend my ship, and cast my net into the river; I also throw in a hook, a bait, and a rod." 'Suppose the fishes are unclean?' "I throw the unclean out, and take the clean for food." 'Where do you sell your fish?' "In the city." 'Who buys them?' "The citizens; I cannot take so many as I can sell." 'What fishes do you take?' "Eels, haddocks, and eelpouts, skaite, and lampreys⁸, and whatever swims in the river." 'Why do you not fish in the sea?'

³ 3 Gale, 477.

⁴ Ibid. 456.

⁵ Dugdale Mon. p. 244.

⁶ Ibid. 235.

⁷ In the Cotton library MS. Tib. A. 3.

⁸ The Saxon names for these are, ælas, hacodas, mynas, & æleputan, sceotan, & lampredan. MS. ib.

BOOK
II.

“ Sometimes I do ; but rarely, because a great ship is
“ necessary there.” ‘ What do you take in the sea ?’
“ Herrings and salmons, dolphins, porpoises, oysters,
“ and crabs, muscles, flounders, plaice, lobsters,
“ and such like.” ‘ Can you take a whale ?’ “ No,
“ it is dangerous to take a whale ; it is safer for
“ me to go to the river with my ship than to go
“ with many ships to hunt whales.” ‘ Why ?’
“ Because it is more pleasant to me to take fish
“ which I can kill with one blow ; yet many take
“ whales without danger, and then they get a
“ great price, but I dare not from the fearfulness of
“ my mind.”

THIS extract shews the uniformity of human taste on the main articles of food. Fish was such a favourite diet that the supply never equalled the demand, and the same fishes were then in request which we select, though our taste has declined for the dolphins and the porpoises. The dolphin is mentioned in a convention between an archbishop and the clergy at Bath, which enumerates six of them under the name of mere-swine, or the sea-swine, and thirty thousand herrings¹⁰.

In the earlier periods of the Anglo-Saxon colonization their use of fish was more limited ; for we read in Bede, that Wilfrid rescued the people of Suffex from famine in the eighth century by teaching them to catch fish : “ For though the sea and their rivers abounded with fish, they had no more

⁹ Herincgas & leaxas, merefwyn & stirian, ofstean & crabban, mussan, wine winclan, sæ coccas, fage floc, lopystran. MS. Tib. A. 3.

¹⁰ MS. CCC apud Cantab. Miscell. G. p. 73.

skill in the art than to take eels. The servants of C H A P.
III.
 “ Wilfrid threw into the sea nets made out of those
 “ by which they had obtained eels, and thus di-
 “ rected them to a new source of plenty¹¹.” It
 may account for Wilfrid’s superior knowledge to
 remark, that he had travelled over the continent to
 Rome.

It is an article in the Penitential of Egbert, that
 fish might be bought though dead¹². The same
 treatise allows herrings to be eaten, and states, that
 when boiled they are salutary in fever and diarrhoea,
 and that their gall mixed with pepper is good for a
 sore mouth¹³!

HORSE-FLESH, which our delicacy rejects with
 aversion, appears to have been used, though it be-
 came unfashionable as their civilization advanced.
 The Penitential says, “ Horse-flesh is not prohi-
 “ bited, though many families will not buy it¹⁴.”
 But in the council held in 785, in Northumbria,
 before Alfwold, and in Mercia, before Offa, it was
 discountenanced. “ Many among you eat horses,
 “ which is not done by any Christians in the east.
 “ Avoid this¹⁵.”

BUT though animal food was in much use among
 our ancestors, it was as it is with us, and perhaps
 will be in every country in which agriculture has
 become habitual, and population much increased,
 rather the food of the wealthier part of the com-
 munity than of the lower orders.

THAT it could not be afforded by all is clear,
 from the incident of a king and queen visiting a

¹¹ Bede, lib. iv. c. 13.

¹² 1 Wilkins Conc. p. 123.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 151.

BOOK II. monastery, and inquiring, when they saw the boys eating only bread, if they were allowed nothing else. The answer returned was, that the scanty means of the society could afford no better. The queen then petitioned the king to enable them to provide additional food¹⁶.

THEY had wheat and barley in general use, but their prices were different; wheat, like meat, was a dearer article, and therefore less universal. It is said of the abbey of St. Edmund, that the young monks eat barley bread because the income of the establishment would not admit of their feeding twice or thrice a-day on wheaten bread¹⁷. Their corn was thrashed with a flail like our own, and ground by the simple mechanism of mills, of which great numbers are particularized in the doomsday survey. In their most ancient law we read of a king's grinding servant¹⁸; but both water-mills and wind-mills occur very frequently in their conveyances after that time.

THEY used warm bread¹⁹. The life of St. Neot states, that the peasant's wife placed on her oven "the loaves which some call loudas²⁰." In the agreement of one of their social gilds, a broad loaf well besewon and well gefyled is noticed²¹. In one grant of land we find six hundred loaves reserved as a rent²², and oftentimes cheeses. They were allowed to use milk, cheese, and eggs, on

¹⁶ MS. Cotton. Claud. C. 9. p. 128.

¹⁷ Dugd. Mon. p. 296.

¹⁸ Wilkin's Leg. Sax. p. 2.

¹⁹ Bede ed. Smith, p. 234.

²⁰ MS. Cott. Claud. A. 5. p. 157.

²¹ Dugd. Mon. p. 278.

²² Sax. Chron. 75.

their fast days²³. Some individual devotees chose to be very rigorous. In 735, a lady is mentioned, in Oxford, of a noble family, who mortified herself by lying on the bare ground, and subsisting on broth made of the poorest herbs, and on a small quantity of barley bread²⁴. In the same century Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary, complained of some priests, that they did not eat of the meats which God had given, and that others fed on milk and honey, rejecting animal food²⁵.

ABSTINENCE too rigorous was not, however, a general fault of the Anglo-Saxon monks. On the contrary, whenever the interior of a well-endowed monastery is opened to our view, we meet with an abundance which precluded mortification²⁶.

ORCHARDS were cultivated²⁷, and we find figs, grapes, nuts, almonds, pears, and apples mentioned²⁸. *Lac acidum*, perhaps butter-milk or whey, was used in a monastery in very handsome vessels, called *creches*, from Hokeday to Michaelmas, and *lac dulce* from Michaelmas to Martinmas. In the same place *placentas* were allowed in the Easter and Whitfun weeks, and on some other festivals, and broth or soups every day²⁹. In another monastery we find land given to provide beans, salt, and

²³ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 194.

²⁴ Dugd. Mon. 173.

²⁵ Bon. Ep. Mag. Bib. Pal. xvi. p. 50.

²⁶ The allowances of the Abingdon monastery may be taken as a specimen. See them in Dugd. Mon. p. 104.

²⁷ 3 Gale Script. 490.

²⁸ Ingulf. p. 50.

²⁹ Dugd. Mon. p. 104. The *creche* contained *septem pollices ad profunditatem a summitate unius usque ad profundum lateris ulterius*. Ibid.

B O O K honey, for the brothers ³⁰. From the panegyric of Aldhelm we may infer, that honey was a favourite diet; for he says, that it excels all the dishes of delicacies and peppered broths ³¹.

IN the MS. before mentioned, a colloquy occurs with the baker (bæcere). ‘Of what use is your art? we can live long without you.’ “You may live through some space without my art, but not long nor so well; for without my craft every table would seem empty and without bread (hlæfe), all meat would become nauseous. I strengthen the heart of man, and little ones could not do without me ³².”

IN the same MS. the food of children is thus mentioned. ‘What do you eat to-day?’ “As yet I feed on flesh-meat because I am a child, living under the rod.” ‘What more do you eat?’ “Herbs, eggs, fish, cheese, butter, and beans, and all clean things I eat with many thanks ³³.”

THEY appear to have used great quantities of salt from the numerous grants of land, which specify salt-pans as important articles. In the end of autumn they killed and salted much meat for their winter consumption. It is probable that their provision of winter fodder for their cattle was very imperfect, and that salted meat was in a great measure their food till the spring re-clothed the fields with verdure. One part of the dialogue above alluded to is on the salter.

³⁰ 3 Gale Script. 445.

³¹ Ald. de Laud. Virg. p. 296.

³² MS. Cott. Tib. A. 3.

³³ Ibid.

‘SALTER! what does your craft profit us?’ CHAP.
 “Much: none of you can enjoy pleasure in your ^{III.}
 “dinner or supper unless my art be propitious to
 “him.” ‘How?’ “Which of you can enjoy
 “favoury meats without the swack of salt? Who
 “could sell the contents of his cellar or his store-
 “houses without my craft? Lo! all butter (buter
 “gethweor) and cheese (cys gerun) would perish
 “unless you used me.”

THE Anglo-Saxon ladies were not excluded from the society of the male sex at their meals. It was at dinner that the king’s mother urged Dunstan to accept the vacant bishopric³⁵, and it appears from many passages in Saxon writings, and from the drawings in their MSS. that both sexes were together at their seasons of refreshment.

WE have an account of Ethelstan’s dining with his relation Ethelfleda. The royal providers, it says, knowing that the king had promised her the visit, came the day before to see if every preparation was ready and suitable. Having inspected all, they told her, “You have plenty of every thing provided your mead holds out.” The king came with a great number of attendants at the appointed time, and, after hearing mass, entered joyfully in the dinner apartment; but unfortunately in the first salutation, their copious draughts exhausted the mead vessel. Dunstan’s sagacity had foreseen the event and provided against it, and though “the cup-bearers, as is the custom at royal feasts, were

³⁴ MS. Cott. Tib. A. 3.

³⁵ MS. Cott. Cleop. B. 13, and Nero, C. 7.

BOOK

II.

"all the day serving it up in cut horns and other vessels of various sizes," the liquor was not found to be deficient. This, of course, very much delighted his majesty and his companions, and as Dunstan chose to give it a miraculous appearance, it procured him infinite credit³⁶.

AN historian of the twelfth century contrasts, with much regret, the fashion introduced by the Normans at court of only one entertainment a day, with the custom of one of our preceding kings, who feasted his courtiers daily with four ample banquets. He contends that parsimony produced the direful change, though it was ascribed to dignity³⁷. Many good customs have originated from selfish causes; but no one will now dispute, that both mental and moral refinement must have been much advanced by this diminution of the incitements and the opportunities of gluttony and inebriety. We may remember of the king Hardicanute, so celebrated for his conviviality, that he died at a feast.

A FEW circumstances may be added of their fasting. It is mentioned in Edgar's regulations, as a part of the penance of a rich man, that he should fast on bread, green herbs, and water³⁸. It is expressed in another part, that a layman during his penitence should eat no flesh, nor drink any thing that might inebriate³⁹. The law of Wihtræd

³⁶ Cleop. B. xiii. p. 67, and Acta Sanct. 29 May, p. 349, 350.

³⁷ Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. p. 365. Malmshury remarks that the profusion of the English feasts was increased after the Danish visits, p. 248.

³⁸ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 97.

³⁹ Ibid. 94.

severely punished the non-observance of fast-days. C H A P. III.
If any man gave meat to his servants on these days, he was declared liable to the pillory, or literally, the neck-catch, heels-fang. If the servant eat it of his own accord, he was fined six shillings, or was to suffer in his hide ⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ Willk. Leg. Sax. II.

CHAP. IV.

Their Drinks and Cookery.

BOOK
II.

ALe and mead were their favourite drinks, and wine was an occasional luxury. Of the ale three sorts are noticed. In a charter, two tuns of clear ale and ten mittan or measures of Welsh ale are reserved¹. In another, a cumb full of lithes, or mild ale². Warm wine is also mentioned³.

THE answer of the lad, in the Saxon colloquy, to the question what he drank, was, "Ale if I have it, or water if I have not." On being asked why he does not drink wine, he says, "I am not so rich that I can buy me wine, and wine is not the drink of children or the weak minded, but of the elders and the wife⁴."

IN the ancient calendar of the eleventh century there are various figures pictured to accompany the different months. In April three persons appear sitting and drinking: one person is pouring out liquor into a horn; another is holding a horn to his mouth⁵.

WE have the list of the liquors used at a great Anglo-Saxon feast in a passage of Henry of Huntingdon, which describes an atrocious catastrophe.

¹ Sax. Chron. 75.

² Two tuns full of hlutres aloth, a cumb full of lithes aloth, and a cumb full of welices aloth, are the gafol reserved in a grant of Offa's. Dugd. Mon. p. 126.

³ Bede, 257.

⁴ MS. Tib. A. 5.

⁵ Ibid. B. 5.

At a feast in the king's hall at Windsor, Harold, CHAP.
IV. the son of Godwin, was serving the Confessor with wine, when Tosti, his brother, stimulated by envy at his possessing a larger portion of the royal favour than himself, seized Harold by the hair in the king's presence. In a rage Tosti left the company, and went to Hereford, where his brother had ordered a great royal banquet to be prepared. There he seized his brother's attendants, and cutting off their heads and limbs, he placed them in the vessels of wine, mead, ale, pigment, morat, and cyder. He then sent to the king a message, that he was going to his farm, where he should find plenty of salt meat, but had taken care to carry some with him⁶. The pigment was a sweet and odoriferous liquor, made of honey, wine, and spiceries of various kinds. The morat was made of honey, diluted with the juice of mulberries⁷.

As the canons were severe on drunkenness, though the manners of society made all their regulations ineffectual, it was thought necessary to define what was considered to be improper and penal intoxication. "This is drunkenness when the state of the mind is changed, the tongue stammers, the eyes are disturbed, the head is giddy, the belly is swelled, and pain follows." To atone for this, fasts, proportioned in duration to the quality of the offender, were enjoined⁸.

⁶ Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. p. 367.

⁷ Du Cange in voc. and Henry's History of England, iv. p. 396.

⁸ Spelm. Concilia, 286.

BOOK

II.

It will not be uninteresting to add the description of a feast as given in Judith by an Anglo-Saxon poet :

Then was Holofernes
 Enchanted with the wine of men :
 In the hall of the guests
 He laughed and shouted,
 He roared and dinned,
 That the children of men might hear afar,
 How the sturdy one
 Stormed and clamoured,
 Animated and elated with wine.
 He admonished amply
 Those sitting on the bench
 That they should bear it well.
 So was the wicked one all day,
 The lord and his men,
 Drunk with wine ;
 The stern dispenser of wealth,
 Till that they swimming lay,
 Over drunk
 All his nobility
 As they were death slain.
 Their property poured about.
 So commanded the lord of men
 To fill to those sitting at the feast,
 Till the dark night
 Approached the children of men *.

WE have a glance of their customs as to drinking in this short passage : “ When all were satisfied
 “ with their dinner, and the tables were removed,
 “ they continued drinking till the evening ¹⁰.”
 > THEY seem to have had places like taverns, or
 ale-houses, where liquors were sold ; for a priest was

* Frag. Judith.

¹⁰ Gale, Scrip. iii. p. 441.

forbidden by a law to eat or drink at ceape alethelum, C H A P.
IV.
literally places where ale was sold ¹¹.

ETHELWOLD allowed his monastery a great bowl from which the obbæ of the monks were filled twice a-day for their dinner and supper. On their festivals he allowed them at dinner a sextarium of mead between six, and the same quantity at supper between twelve of the brothers. On certain of the great high feasts of the year he gave them a measure of wine ¹².

THEY boiled, baked, and broiled their victuals. We read of their meat dressed in a boiling vessel ¹³, of their fish having been broiled ¹⁴, and of an oven heated for baking loaves ¹⁵. The term abacan is also applied to meat. In the rule of St. Benedict two sanda, or dishes of sodden syflian, or soup bouilli, are mentioned ¹⁶. Bede mentions a goose that hang on the wall taken down to be boiled ¹⁷. The word seathan to boil deserves notice, because the noun seath, from which it is derivable, implies a pit. As we read in the South Sea islands of the natives dressing their victuals in little pits lined with stones, the expression may have been originally derived from a similar practice. A cook appears as an appendix to every monastery, and it was a character important enough to be inserted in the laws. In the cloisters it was a male office; elsewhere it was chiefly assumed by the female sex. In the

¹¹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 180. So Egbert exhorts. Spel. Com.
260.

¹² Dugd. Mon. 104.

¹³ Bede, p. 255.

¹⁴ Bede, 238.

¹⁵ MS. Vesp. D. xiv. p. 146.

¹⁶ MS. Tib. A. 3.

¹⁷ Bede, 255.

BOOK dialogue already cited, the cook says, "If you ex-
 11. pel me from your society you would eat your
 "herbs green, and your flesh raw." He is answered, 'We can ourselves see the what is to be
 "seethed, and broil what things are to be broiled"¹⁸.'

THEY seem to have attended to cookery not merely as a matter of taste but of indispensable decorum. It was one of their regulations, that if a person eat any thing half dressed, ignorantly, he should fast three days; if knowingly, four days. Perhaps as the uncivilized northmen were, in their pagan state, addicted to eat raw flesh, the clergy of the Anglo-Saxons were anxious to keep their improved countrymen from relapsing into such barbarous customs¹⁹.

In the drawings which accompany some Anglo-Saxon manuscripts we have some delineation of their customs at table²⁰. In one drawing a party is

¹⁸ MS. Tib.

¹⁹ Spelm. Concil. 287. The same principle perhaps led them to add these regulations: "For eating or drinking
 "what a cat or dog has spoiled he shall sing an hundred
 "psalms or fast a day. For giving another any liquor in
 "which a mouse or a weazel shall be found dead, a layman
 "shall do penance for four days; a monk shall sing three
 "hundred psalms." Spelm. Concil. p. 287.

²⁰ The industrious and useful Strutt has copied these drawings in the first volume of his *Horda Angelcynnan*. Nothing can more satisfactorily illustrate the manners of our ancestors than such publications of their ornamental drawing; for, as Strutt truly observes in his preface, "though
 "these pictures do not bear the least resemblance of the
 "things they were originally intended to represent, yet
 "they nevertheless are the undoubted characteristics of the
 "customs of that period in which each illuminator or de-
 "signer lived."

at table, seated with the females by the side of the men in this order : a man, a lady, a man, a lady, two men, and another lady. The two first are looking towards each other as if talking together ; the three in the middle are engaged with each other, and so are the two last ; each have a cup or horn in their hand. The table is oblong, and covered with a table-cloth that hangs low down upon the table ; a knife, a horn, a bowl, a dish, and some loaves appear. The men are uncovered ; the women have their usual head-dress²¹.

In another drawing the table is a sharp oval, also covered with an ample cloth ; upon it, besides a knife and a spoon, there are a bowl, with a fish, some loaves of bread, and two other dishes. Some part of the costume is more like the manners of Homer's heroes than of modern times. At the angles of the tables two attendants are upon their knees, with a dish in one hand, and each holding up a spit with the other, from which the persons feasting are about to cut something. One of these persons to whom the servants minister with so much respect is holding a whole fish with one hand, and a knife in the other²². In the drawing which accompanies Lot feasting the angels, the table is oblong, rounded at the ends, and covered with a cloth. Upon it is a bowl, with an animal's head.

²¹ This is in Strutt's work, plate xvi. fig. 2, and is taken from the Cotton MS. Claud. B. 4. The MS. consists of excerpts from the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, which are adorned with historical figures, some of which are those above alluded to.

²² See Strutt, plate xvi. fig. 1.

B O O K like a pig's; another bowl is full of some round things like apples. These, with loaves, or cakes of bread, seem to constitute the repast. There are two horns upon the table, and one of the angels has a knife²³ As no forks appear in any of the plates, and are not mentioned elsewhere, we may presume that our ancestors used their hands instead.

THERE is one drawing of men killing and dressing meat. One man is holding a sheep by his horns, while a lad strikes at its neck with an axe; behind him is a young man severing an animal's head from his body with an axe. Another has put a long stick, with a hook attached to it, into a cauldron, as if to pull up meat. The cauldron is upon a trivet of four legs as high as the servant's knee, within which the fire is made, and blazing up to the cauldron²⁴.

²³ Strutt, plate xvi. fig. 3, and Claud. B. 4.

²⁴ Ibid. plate xvii. fig. 2, and from Claud. B. 4. The tapestry of Bayeux is as useful in shewing the cookery and feasting of the Normans.

CHAP. V.

Their Drefs.

THE Anglo-Saxons had become so much acquainted with the conveniences of civilized life as to have both variety and vanity of drefs. Some change took place in their apparel after their conversion to Christianity, which rendered their former customs disreputable; for at a council, held in 785, it is said, "You put on your garments in the manner of the pagans, whom your fathers expelled from the world; an astonishing thing that you imitate those whose life you always hated¹."

CHAP.
V.

IT is difficult at this distance of time to apprehend with precision the meaning of the terms of their drefs which time has permitted to reach us, and to state them with that order and illustration which will enable the reader to conceive justly of their costume. The imperfections of our attempt must be excused by its difficulty. We will begin with what we have been able to collect of an Anglo-Saxon lady's drefs.

THE wife described by Aldhelm has necklaces and bracelets, and also rings with gems on her fingers. Her hair was dressed artificially; he mentions the twisted hairs delicately curled with the iron of those adorning her.

IN this part of her drefs she was a contrast to the religious virgin whose hair was entirely neglected².

¹ Concil. Calcut. Spelm. Conc. p. 300.

² Aldhelm de Laud. Virg. p. 307.

B O O K
 II. Their hair was highly valuable and reputable among the Saxon ladies. Judith is perpetually mentioned with epithets allusive to her hair. Her twisted locks are more than once noticed :

The maid of the Creator,
 With twisted locks,
 Took then a sharp sword.

She with the twisted locks
 Then struck her hateful enemy,
 Meditating ill,
 With the ruddy sword.

The most illustrious virgin
 Conducted and lead them,
 Replendent with her twisted locks,
 To the bright city of Bethulia ³.

THE laws mention a free woman, loc bore, wearing her locks as a distinguishing circumstance⁴. Judith is also described with her ornaments :

The prudent one adorned with gold
 Ordered her maidens —

Then commanded he
 The blessed virgin
 With speed to fetch
 To his bed rest,
 With bracelets laden,
 With rings adorned ⁵.

ALDHELM also describes the wife as loving to paint her cheeks with the red colour of stibium ⁶.

³ Frag. Judith, ed. Thwaite.

⁴ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 6.

⁵ Frag. Jud.

⁶ Aldhelm, p. 307.

The art of painting the face is not the creature of refinement; the most barbarous nations seem to be the most liberal in their use of this fancied ornament. C H A P.
V.

THE will of Wynflæd makes us acquainted with several articles of the dress and ornaments of an Anglo-Saxon lady. She gives to Æthelflœda, one of her daughters, her engraved beah, or bracelet, and her covering mantel (mentel). To Eadgyfa, another of her daughters, she leaves her best dun tunic, and her better mantel, and her covering garment. She also mentions her pale tunics, her torn cyrtel, and other linen, web, or garment. She likewise notices her white cyrtel, and the cuffs and rib-band (cuffian and bindan) ⁷.

AMONG the ornaments mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon documents we read of a golden fly, beautifully adorned with gems ⁸; of golden vermiculated necklaces ⁹; of a bulla that had belonged to the grandmother of the lady spoken of ¹⁰; of golden head-bands ¹¹, and of a neck cross ¹².

THE ladies had also gowns; for a bishop of Winchester sends as a present "a short gown (gunna) "sown in our manner" ¹³." * Thus we find the mantle, the kirtle, and the gown, mentioned by these names among the Saxons, and even the ornament of cuffs.

⁷ Our great Saxon scholar, Hickes, has given a transcript of this will in his preface to his *Gram. Anglo-Sax.* p. 22.

⁸ *Dugd. Mon.* 240. ⁹ *Ibid.* 263. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* 268.

¹¹ *Thorpe Reg. Roffen.* 26, and *Mag. Bib.* xvi. p. 7.

¹² In the Archbishop's Will. *Cott. Lib. MS. Tib. A.* 3.

¹³ *16 Mag. Bib.* 82. A gown made of otter's skin is mentioned, p. 88.

BOOK

II.

IN the drawings on the manuscripts of these times, the women appear with a long loose robe, reaching down to the ground, and large loose sleeves. Upon their head is a hood or veil, which, falling down before, was wrapped round the neck and breast¹⁴. All the ladies in the drawing have their necks, from the chin, closely wrapped in this manner, and in none of them is a fine waist attempted to be displayed, nor have their heads any other covering than their hood.

IN the dress of the men the province of female taste was intruded upon by the ornaments they used. They had sometimes gold and precious stones round their neck¹⁵, and the men of consequence or wealth usually had expensive bracelets on their arms, and rings on their fingers. It is singular that the bracelets of the male sex were more costly than those allotted to the fair. In an Anglo-Saxon will the testator bequeaths to his lord a beah, or bracelet of eighty gold mancusa, and to his lady one of thirty. He had two neck bracelets, one of forty, and another of eighty gold mancusa, and two golden bands¹⁶. We read of two golden bracelets, and five gold ornaments, called fylas, sent by an Anglo Saxon to her friend¹⁷. Their rings are frequently mentioned: an archbishop bequeaths

¹⁴ Strutt's *Horda Angelcynn*. i. p. 47.

¹⁵ Bede, p. 332.

¹⁶ See the will of Byrhtic in Thorpe's *Reg. Rossen*. p. 25; also in *Hickes' Thes.*

¹⁷ *Mag. Bib. Pat.* xvi. p. 92. Wynfleda, in her will, leaves a man a wooden cup adorned with gold, that he might augment his beah with the gold. *Hickes' Pref.*

one in his will ¹⁸, and a king sent a gold ring, with twelve sagi, as a present to a bishop ¹⁹. The ring appears to have been worn on the finger next to the little finger, and on the right hand, for a Saxon law calls that the gold finger; and we find a right hand was once cut off on account of this ornament.

CHAP.
V.

In some of the stately apparel of the male sex we see that fondness for gorgeous finery which their sturdier character might have been expected to have disdained. We read of silk garments woven with golden eagles ²⁰; so a king's coronation garment was of silk, woven with gold flowers ²¹, and his cloak is mentioned distinguished by its costly workmanship, and its gold and gems ²². Such was the avidity for these distinctions that Elfric, in his canons, found it necessary to exhort the clergy not to be ranc, that is proud, with their rings, and not to have their garments made too ranclike ²³.

THEY had silk, linen, and woollen garments. A bishop gave in the eighth century, as a present to one abroad, a woollen tunic, and another of linen, adding, "as it was the custom of the Anglo-Saxons to wear it ²⁴." The use of linen was not uncommon; for it is remarked, as a peculiarity of a

¹⁸ Cott. MS. Claud. C. 125.

¹⁹ Mag. Bib. xvi p. 89.

²⁰ Ingulf. p. 61.

²¹ Ibid.

²² 3 Gale Script. 494.

²³ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 158. Ranc and ranc-like originally meant proud and gorgeous. The words have now become appropriated to express dignity of situation.

²⁴ 16 Mag. Bib. p. 82.

D O O K nun, that she rarely wore linen, but chiefly woollen garments²⁵.

SILK, from its cost, cannot have been common, but it was often used by the great and wealthy. Ethelbert, king of Kent, gave a silken part of dress, called an *armilcafia*²⁶. Bede mentions two silken pallia of incomparable workmanship²⁷. His own remains were inclosed in silk²⁸. It often adorned the altars of the church, and we read of a present to a West-Saxon bishop of a *cafula*, expressed to be not entirely of silk, but mixed with goats' wool²⁹.

THE delineations of the Saxon manuscripts almost universally represent the hair of the men as divided from the crown to the forehead, and combed down the sides of the head in waving ringlets. Their beards were continuations of their whiskers on each side, meeting the hair from the chin, but there dividing and ending in two forked points. Young men usually, and sometimes servants, are represented without beards. The heads of the soldiers are covered, but workmen, and even nobles, are frequently represented, as in the open air, without any hats or caps³⁰.

²⁵ Bede, lib. iv. c. 19. The interior tunic of St. Neot is described to have been *ex panno villosa* in the Irish manner, Dugd. Mon. 368.

²⁶ Dugd. Mon. 24.

²⁷ Bede, p. 297. A pallia *holoserica* is mentioned as a present in Mag. Bib. xvi p. 97.

²⁸ Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 88. ²⁹ Ibid. p. 50.

³⁰ See the plates in Strutt's Hord. Angel.

To have a beard was forbidden to the clergy ³¹. C H A P.
V.
 But the historian of Malmbury informs us, that in the time of Harold the second, the English laity shaved their beards, but allowed the hair of their upper lip a full growth ³². The tapestry of Bayeux displays this costume: Harold and most of the figures have their mustachios, but no beards. King Edward, however, has his full beard. In the drawings of the Evangelists in the fine Cotton MS. ³³ Mark and John have neither beards nor mustachios, but Matthew and Luke have both.

THEY had shoes, or scoh, with thongs. Bede's account of Cuthbert is curious: he says, when the saint had washed the feet of those who came to him, they compelled him to take off his own shoes, that his feet might also be made clean, for so little did he attend to his bodily appearance, that he often kept his shoes, which were of leather, on his feet for several months together, frequently from Easter to Easter, without taking them off ³⁴. From this anecdote we may infer that they had not stockings. Sometimes, however, the legs of the men appear in the drawings as covered half way up with a kind of bandage wound round, or else with a strait stocking reaching above the knee ³⁵.

³¹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 85.

³² Malmbs. lib. iii.

³³ Nero, D. 4.

³⁴ Bede vit. Cuthb. p. 243. In the life of St. Neot he is said to have lost his scoh; he saw a fox having the thwanges of his shoe in his mouth. Vesp. D. xiv. p. 144.

³⁵ Strutt, Hord. Ang. p. 47. In Saint Benedict rule MS. Tib. A. 3. socks (soccas) and stockings (hosan) are mentioned; also two other coverings for the legs and feet.

BOOK
II.

THE Anglo-Saxons represented in the Bayeux tapestry are dressed in this manner; both the great and their inferiors have caps or bonnets on their heads, which are kept on even in the presence of the king sitting with his sceptre on the throne. The steersman of one of the ships has a hat on, with a projecting flap turning upwards. Most of the figures have close coats with sleeves to the wrists³⁶. They are girded round them with a belt, and have loose skirts furrounding their legs like kelts, but not reaching quite to the knee. Harold on horseback with his falcon has breeches, which do not cover his knee, and a cloak flowing behind him. His knights have breeches covering the knees, and cloaks which, like Harold's, are buttoned on the right shoulder³⁷. One of those standing before the king has a cloak, or sagum, which falls down to its full length, and reaches just below the bend of the knee³⁸. Harold, when he is about to go into the ship, wears a sort of jacket with small flaps. In

called meon and fiand reaf fota, and the earm slife for the upper part of the body.

³⁶ Strutt has given a complete drawing of a Saxon close coat in Tab. 15. It appears to have been put over the head like a shirt.

³⁷ For a description of this clasp or button see Strutt, p. 46.

³⁸ It was probably of cloaks like these that Charlemagne exclaimed, "Of what use are these little cloaks. We cannot be covered by them in bed. When I am on horseback they cannot defend me from the wind and rain, and when we retire for other occasions I am starved with cold in my legs." *St. Gall. ap. Bouquet Recueil*, tom. 7.

the ship he appears with his cloak and the fur-
rounding skirts, which are exhibited with a border;
but when he takes the oath to William he has a
cloak reaching nearly to his heels, and buttoned on
the breast. They have always belts on. Most of
them have shoes, which set close round the ankle;
others, even the great men, sometimes have none³⁹.

C H A P.

V.

In the history of the Lombards, the Anglo-Saxon garments are stated to have been loose and flowing, and chiefly made of linen, adorned with broad borders, woven or embroidered with various colours⁴⁰. In the MSS. of the Saxon gospels, Nero, D. 4. the four evangelists are drawn in colours, and the garments in which they are represented may be considered as specimens of the Anglo-Saxon dress.

MATTHEW has a purple under-gown, or vest, rather close, coming down to the wrists, with a yellow border at the neck, wrists, and the bottom.

³⁹ Strutt remarks from the drawings, that the kings and nobles, when in their state dress, were habited in a loose coat, which reached down to their ankles, and had over that a long robe, fastened over both shoulders, on the middle of the breast, with a clasp or buckle. He adds, that the edges and bottoms of their coats, as well as of their robes, were often trimmed with a broad gold edging, or else flowered with different colours. The foldiers and common people wore close coats, reaching only to the knee, and a short cloak over their left shoulder which buckled on the right. The kings and nobles were habited in common in a dress similar to this, but richer and more elegant. Strutt, *Hord. Ang. i. p. 46.*

⁴⁰ See before.

B O O K His upper robe is green, with red stripes, much
II. looser than the other. His feet have no shoes, but
 a lacing as for sandals. There is a brown curtain
 with rings and a yellow bottom. His stool has a
 brown cushion, but no back. He writes on his
 knee.

MARK wears a purple robe striped with blue,
 buttoned at the neck, where it opens and shews an
 under garment of light blue striped with red. His
 cushion is blue; he has a footstool and a small
 round table.

LUKE's under-dress is a sort of lilac, with light
 green stripes. Over this is a purple robe with red
 stripes. The arm is of the colour of the vest, and
 comes through the robe. His wrist and neck have
 a border.

JOHN's under-garment is a pea-green with red
 stripes; his upper robe is purple with blue stripes;
 this is very loose, and opening at the breast, shews
 the dress beneath. These pictures shew what other
 passages also imply, that our ancestors were fond of
 many colours⁴¹. The council in 785 ordered the
 clergy not to wear the tintured colours of India
 nor precious garments⁴². The clergy, whose gar-
 ments were thus compulsorily simplified, endea-
 voured to extend their fashion to those of the laity.
Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary, in his letter

⁴¹ Bede mentions, that in Saint Cuthbert's monastery they
 used clothing of the natural wool, and not of varied or pre-
 cious colours, p. 242. Two cloaks are mentioned among
 the letters of Boniface, one of which is said to be of very
 artful workmanship, the other of a tintured colour.

⁴² Spel. Concil. p. 294.

to the archbishop of Canterbury, inveighs against the luxuries of dress, and declares that those garments which are adorned with very broad studs and images of worms announce the coming of Anti-Christ⁴³. In the same spirit, at the council of Cloveshoe, the nuns were exhorted to pass their time rather in reading books and singing hymns, than in weaving and working garments of empty pride in diversified colours⁴⁴. That they lined their garments with furs made from sables, beavers, and foxes, or, when they wished to be least expensive, with the skins of lambs or cats, we learn from the life of Wulfstan⁴⁵.

C H A P.
V.

⁴³ Spelm. Concil. 241.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 256.

⁴⁵ Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 259. Our Henry, whose remarks on the dress of our ancestors are well worth reading, has given a translation of the passage in his History, vol. iv. p. 289.

HISTORY OF THE MANNERS, &c.

CHAP. VI.

Their Houses, Furniture, and Luxuries.

BOOK
II.

IN their ecclesiastical buildings the Anglo-Saxons were expensive and magnificent ; their dwelling-houses seem to have been small and inconvenient¹. Domestic architecture is one of the things that most conspicuously displays and attends the progress of national wealth and taste. The more we recede into the antiquities of every state, we invariably find the habitations of the people ruder and less commodious.

THEIR furniture we can only know as it happens to be mentioned and sometimes imperfectly described in some of their writings. They may have had many things which we have, but we must conceive of all we find enumerated, that it was heavy, rude, and unworkmanlike. It is in a polished age, and among industrious and wealthy nations, that the mechanical arts attain excellence, and that every convenience of domestic life combines always finished neatness, and frequently elegance and taste, with economy of materials and utility.

THE Anglo-Saxons had many conveniences and luxuries which men so recently emerging from the

¹ Strutt has copied a Saxon house from the MS. Cleop. C. viii. in his fig. 3. of Plate I. The building of the tower of Babel in his sixth plate, from MS. Claud. B. iv. may be considered as another specimen of their domestic architecture.

barbarian state could not have derived from their own invention. ✕ They were indebted for these to their conversion to Christianity. When the Gothic nations exchanged their idolatry for the Christian faith, hierarchies arose in every converted state, which maintained a close and perpetual intercourse with Rome and with each other. From the letters of Pope Gregory, of our Boniface, and many others, we perceive that an intercourse of personal civilities, visits, messages, and presents, was perpetually taking place. Whatever that was rare, curious, or valuable, which one person possessed, he communicated, and not unfrequently gave to his acquaintance. This is very remarkable in the letters of Boniface and his friends², of whom some were in England, some in France, some in Germany, and elsewhere. ✕ The most cordial phrases of urbanity and affection are usually followed by a present of apparel, the aromatic productions of the east, little articles of furniture and domestic comfort, books, and whatever else promised to be acceptable to the person addressed. ✕ This reciprocity of liberality, and the perpetual visits which all ranks of the state were in the habit of making to Rome, the seat and centre of all the arts, science, wealth, and industry of the day, occasioned a general diffusion and use of the known conveniences and approved inventions which had then appeared.

✕ AMONG the furniture of their rooms we find hangings to be suspended on the walls, most of them

² These are in the sixteenth volume of the Magna Bibliotheca Patrum.

B O O K
II.

filken, some with the figures of golden birds in needle work, some woven, and some plain³. At another time a veil, or piece of hanging, is mentioned, on which was sewed the destruction of Troy⁴. These were royal presents. We also read of the curtain of a lady on which was woven the actions of her husband in memory of his probity⁵. These articles of manufacture for domestic use are obviously alluded to by Aldhelm in his simile, in which he mentions the texture of hangings or curtains; their being stained with purple and different varieties of colours, and their images, embroidery, and weaving. Their love of gaudy colouring was as apparent in these as in their dress, for he says, "if finished of one colour uniform they "would not seem beautiful to the eye⁶." Curtains and hangings are very often mentioned; sometimes in Latin phrases, *pallia* or *cortinas*⁷; sometimes in the Saxon term *wahrift*. Thus Wynfleda bequeaths a long heall *wahrift* and a short one, and Wulfur bequeaths an heall *wahrifta*; the same testator also leaves a heall *reafes*⁸. Whether this is another expression for a hanging to the hall, or whether it alludes to any thing like a carpet, the expression itself will not decide. The probability is, that it expresses a part of the hangings. We can perceive the reasons why hangings were used in such early times: their carpenters were not exact and perfect

³ Ingulf, p. 53.

⁴ Ibid. p. 9.

⁵ 3 Gale Script. 495.

⁶ Aldhelm de Laud. Virg. 283.

⁷ Dugd. 130. 3 Gale, 418 and 495. Ingulf, 53.

⁸ Hickes Præf. and Diss. Ep. 54.

joiners; their buildings were full of crevices, and hangings were therefore rather a necessity than a luxury, as they kept out the wind from the inhabitants. Nothing can more strongly prove their necessity than that Alfred, to preserve his lights from the wind, even in the royal palaces, was obliged to have recourse to lanthorns⁹. Their hangings we find were not cheap enough to be used perpetually, and therefore when the king gave them to the monastery, he adds the injunction to the one gift, that it should be suspended on his anniversary, and to another, that it should be used on festivals¹⁰.

BENCHES¹¹ and seats and their coverings are also mentioned. In one gift, seven setl hrægel, or seat coverings¹², occur. Wynflæda bequeaths three setl hrægl¹³. Their footstools appear to have been much ornamented. Ingulf mentions two great pedalia with lions interwoven, and two smaller ones sprinkled with flowers¹⁴. Some of their seats or benches, represented in the drawings, have animals' heads and legs at their extremities¹⁵. Their seats seem to have been benches and stools.

THEIR tables are sometimes very costly: we read of two tables made of silver and gold¹⁶. Æthelwold, in Edgar's reign, is said to have made a silver table worth three hundred pounds¹⁷. We also read of a wooden table for an altar which was

⁹ See the Anglo-Saxon History, vol. ii. p. 337.

¹⁰ Ingulf, 53.

¹¹ Dugd. Mon. 130.

¹² Dugd. 216.

¹³ Hickes ubi sup.

¹⁴ Ing. 53.

¹⁵ See Strutt, tab. 10.

¹⁶ Dugd. Mon. 40.

¹⁷ Ibid. 104.

BOOK adorned with ample and solid plates of silver, and
 II. with gems various in colour and species¹⁸.

CANDLESTICKS of various sorts are mentioned; two large candlesticks of bone (gebonede candelsticcan), and six smaller of the same kind, are enumerated¹⁹, as are also two silver candelabra, gilt²⁰, and two candelabra well and honourably made²¹. Bede once mentions that two candles were lighted.²²

HAND-BELLS also appear. At one time twelve are stated to have been used in a monastery²³. A disciple of Bede sends to Lullus, in France, "the bell which I have at my hand²⁴." A silver mirror is also once mentioned²⁵.

OF bed furniture we find in an Anglo-Saxon's will bed-cloaths (beddreafes), with a curtain (hryfte), and sheet (hoppscytan), and all that thereto belongs; to his son he gives the bed-reafe and all the cloaths that appertain to it²⁶. An Anglo-Saxon lady gives to one of her children two chests and their contents, her best bed-curtain, linen, and all the cloaths belonging to it. To another child she leaves two chests, and "all the bed-cloaths that to one bed belong." She also mentions her red tent²⁷ (giteld). On another occasion we read of a pillow of straw²⁸. A goat skin bed-covering was sent to an Anglo-Saxon abbot²⁹. In Judith we read of

¹⁸ 3 Gale Script. 420.

¹⁹ Dugd. Mon. 221.

²⁰ Ibid. 40.

²¹ Ibid. 130. Candelabris ex argento ductilibus. Ib. 104.

²² Bede, 259.

²³ Dugd. Mon. 221.

²⁴ 16 Mag. Bib. 88.

²⁵ Dugd. 24.

²⁶ Hickes Diss. Ep. 54.

²⁷ Hickes Præf.

²⁸ 3 Gale Scrip. 418.

²⁹ 16 Mag. Bib. 52.

the gilded fly-net hung about the leader's bed ³⁰. C H A P.
VI.
 Bear-skins are sometimes noticed as if a part of bed furniture. There is a drawing of a Saxon bed and curtain in Claud. B. iv. which may be seen in Strutt Horda Angelcynn. pl. xiii. fig. 2. The head and the bottom of the bed seem to be both boarded, and the pillows look as if made of platted straw. Not to go into a bed, but to lay on the floor, was occasionally enjoined as a penance ³¹.

For their food and conviviality they used many expensive articles. It was indeed in these that their abundant use of the precious metals principally appeared. We perpetually read of silver cups, and sometimes of silver gilt. Byrhtic, in his will, bequeaths three silver cups ³². Wulfur bequeaths four cups, two of which he describes as of four pounds value ³³. Wynflæda gives, besides four silver cups, a cup with a fringed edge, a wooden cup variegated with gold, a wooden knobbed cup, and two smicere scencing cuppan, or very handsome drinking cups ³⁴. In other places we read of a golden cup, with a gold dish ³⁵; a gold cup of immense weight ³⁶; a dish adorned with gold, and another with Grecian workmanship ³⁷. A lady gave a golden cup, weighing four marcs and a half ³⁸. The king of Kent sent to Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary in Germany, a silver basin, gilt within, weighing three pounds and a half ³⁹. On

³⁰ Frag. Jud.

³¹ Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 97.

³² Thorp. Reg. Roff. 30.

³³ Hickes Diss. Ep. 54.

³⁴ Hickes Præf. p. 22.

³⁵ Dugd. Mon. 21.

³⁶ Dugd. Mon. 194.

³⁷ Ibid. 40.

³⁸ Ibid. 240.

³⁹ 16 Mag. Bib. p. 64.

B O O K another occasion a great silver dish of excellent
 11. workmanship and of great value is noticed ⁴⁰. Two
 silver cups, weighing twelve marks, were used by
 the monks in a refectory to serve their drink ⁴¹.
 Two silver basons were given by a lady to a mo-
 nastery ⁴². A king, in 833, gave his gilt cup, en-
 graved without with vine dressers fighting dragons,
 which he called his cross-bowl, because it had a
 cross marked within, and it had four angles pro-
 jecting like a similar figure ⁴³; two silver cups,
 with covers in one place ⁴⁴; five silver cups in an-
 other ⁴⁵; and such-like notices, sufficiently prove to
 us that the rich and great among the Anglo-Saxons
 had no want of plate. At other times we meet
 with cups of bone ⁴⁶, brazen dishes ⁴⁷, and a coffer
 made of bones ⁴⁸. We may infer that the less af-
 fluent used vessels of wood and horn. A council
 ordered that no cup or dish made of horn should
 be used in the sacred offices ⁴⁹.

Horns were much used at table. Two buffalo
 horns are in Wynflæda's will ⁵⁰. Four horns are
 noticed in the list of a monastery's effects ⁵¹. Three
 horns worked with gold and silver occur ⁵², and the
 Mercian king gave to Croyland monastery the horn
 of his table, "that the elder monks may drink
 " thereout on festivals, and in their benedictions
 " remember sometimes the soul of the donor

⁴⁰ Dugd. 123.

⁴² 3 Gale Scrip. 418.

⁴⁴ Dugd. 40.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 221.

⁴⁸ 16 Mag. Bib. 93.

⁵⁰ Hickes Pref.

⁴¹ 3 Gale Scrip. 406.

⁴³ Ingulf, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Dugd. 221.

⁴⁷ Bede, lib. ii. c. 16.

⁴⁹ Spelm. Conc. 295.

⁵¹ Dugd. 221.

⁵² Dugd. 40.

“ Witlaf⁵³.” The curiously carved horn which is still preserved in York cathedral was made in the Anglo-Saxon times, and deserves the notice of the inquisitive for its magnitude and workmanship.

GLASS vessels, which are among the most valuable of our present comforts, were little used in the time of Bede and Boniface. A disciple of Bede asked Lullus, in France, if there were any man in his parish who could make glass vessels well; if such a man lived there, he desired that he might be persuaded to come to England, because, adds he, “ we are ignorant and helpless in this art⁵⁴.” Bede mentions lamps of glass, and vessels for many uses⁵⁵. Glass became more used in the conveniences of domestic life towards the period of the Norman conquest.

GOLD and silver were also applied to adorn their sword hilts, their saddles and bridles, and their banners⁵⁶. Their gold rings contained gems, and even their garments, saddles, and bridles, were sometimes jewelled⁵⁷.

THE presents which the father of Alfred took with him to Rome deserve enumeration from their value, and because they shew the supply of the precious metals which the Anglo-Saxons possessed; we derive the knowledge of them from Anastasius a contemporary: a crown of the purest gold, weighing four pounds; two basons of the purest gold, weighing pounds; a sword, bound

⁵³ Ingulf, 9. ⁵⁴ 16 Mag. Bib. 88. ⁵⁵ Bede, p. 295.

⁵⁶ Dugd. Mon. 266. ib. 24. Bede, 3. 11.

⁵⁷ Aldhelm de Laud. Virg. 307. Eddius, 60. 62. 3 Gale Script. 494. Dugd. Mon. 24.

B O O K with purest gold; two small images of the purest ^{II.} gold; four dishes of silver gilt; two palls of silk with golden clasp; with other silk dresses, and gold clasps, and hangings. To the bishops, priests, deacons, and other clergy, and to the great at Rome, he distributed gold, and among the people small silver⁵⁸. A few years afterwards we learn from the same author, that the English then at Rome presented to the oratory in the pontifical palace, at Frescati, a silver table, weighing several pounds⁵⁹. In the age before this we read of gold and silver vessels sent presents to Rome⁶⁰.

GOLD and silver rods, or crosses and crucifixes, are frequently mentioned⁶¹; also a silver graphium, or pen⁶². The crown of the Anglo-Saxon kings is described by the contemporary biographer of Dunstan as made of gold and silver, and set with various gems⁶³. They used iron very commonly, and often tin.

THE Anglo-Saxons seem to have been acquainted with the precious stones. In the MSS. Tib. A. 3. twelve sorts of them are thus described: "The first gem kind is black and green, which are both mingled together, and this is called *giaspis*. The other is *saphyrus*; this is like the sun, and in it appear like golden stars. The third is *calcedonius*: this is like a burning candle. Sma-

⁵⁸ Anastasius Bibliot. de vit. Pontif. p. 403. ed. Rom. 1718.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 418.

⁶⁰ Bede, iv. c. 1.

⁶¹ Wulf. Will ap. Hickes Diff. Ep. 54. Ingulf, 9. Dugd. 233.

⁶² Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 51.

⁶³ MS. Cleop. B. 13.

“ragdus is very green. Sardonix is likest blood. C H A P.
VI.
 “Onichinus is brown and yellow. Sardius is like
 “clear blood. Berillus is like water. Crisoprassus
 “is like a green leek, and green stars seem to
 “shine from it. Topazius is like gold, and car-
 “bunculus is like burning fire.”

THE odoriferous productions of India and the East were known to our ancestors, and highly valued. They frequently formed part of their presents. Boniface sent to an abbeſs a little frankincense, pepper, and cinnamon⁶⁴; to another person some storax and cinnamon⁶⁵. So he received from an archdeacon, cinnamon, pepper, and coſtus⁶⁶. A deacon at Rome once ſent him four ounces of cinnamon, two ounces of coſtum, two pounds of pepper, and one pound of cozombri⁶⁷.

THE Anglo-Saxons uſed the luxury of hot baths. Their uſe ſeems to have been common; for a nun is mentioned, who, as an act of voluntary mortification, waſhed in them only on feſtivals⁶⁸. Not to go to warm baths nor a ſoft bed was part of a ſevere penitence⁶⁹. The general practice of this kind of bath may be alſo inferred from its being urged by the canons as a charitable duty to give to the poor meat, mund, fire, fodder, bed, bathing, and cloaths⁷⁰. But while warm bathing was in this uſe and eſtimation, we find cold bathing ſo

⁶⁴ Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 50. ⁶⁵ Ibid. 51. ⁶⁶ Ibid. 119.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 120. Coſtus, a kind of ſhrub growing in Arabia and Perſia, and having a root of a pleaſant ſpicy ſmell.

⁶⁸ Bede, iv. c. 19. ⁶⁹ Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 94.

⁷⁰ Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 95.

B O O K little valued as to be mentioned as a penitentiary
 II. punishment ⁷¹.

THE washing of the feet in warm water, especially after travelling, is often mentioned ⁷². It was a part of indispensable hospitality to offer this refreshment to a visitor, and this politeness will lead us to suppose, that shoes and stockings, though worn in social life, were little used in travelling. The custom of walking without these coverings in the country, and of putting them on when the traveller approached towns, has existed among the commonalty in North Britain even in the present reign. Among the gifts of Boniface to an Anglo-Saxon prelate, was a shaggy or woolly present to dry the feet after being washed ⁷³. To wash the feet of the poor was one of the acts of penance to be performed by the rich ⁷⁴.

⁷¹ Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 95.

⁷² Bede; 234. 251. 257.

⁷³ 16 Mag. Bib. 52, & ib.

⁷⁴ Wilk Leg. Anglo-Sax. 97.

CHAP. VII.

Their Conviviality and Amusements.

IN the ruder states of society melancholy is the prevailing feature of the mind; the stern or dismal countenances of savages are every where remarkable. Usually the prey of want or passion they are seldom cheerful till they can riot in excess. Their mirth is then violent and transient, and they soon relapse into their habitual gloom.

As the agricultural state advances, and the comforts of civilization accumulate, provident industry secures regular supplies; the removal of want diminishes care and introduces leisure; the softer affections then appear with increasing fervour, the human temper is rendered milder, mirth and joy become habitual, mankind are delighted to indulge their social feelings, and a large portion of time is devoted to amusement.

THE Anglo-Saxons were in this happy state of social improvement; they loved the pleasures of the table, but they had the wisdom to unite with them more intellectual diversions. At their cheerful meetings it was the practice for all to sing in turn; and Bede mentions an instance in which, for this purpose, the harp was sent round¹. The musicians of the day, the wild flowers of their poetry, and the ludicrous jokes and tricks of their buffas, were such essential additions to their conviviality,

¹ Bede, lib. iv. p. 170.

BOOK that the council of Cloveshoe, which thought that
 II. more solemn manners were better suited to the
 ecclesiastic, forbade the monks to suffer their man-
 sions to be the receptacle of the "sportive arts,
 "that is, of poets, harpers, musicians, and buf-
 "foons²." A previous council, aiming to pro-
 duce the same effect, had decreed, that no ecclesi-
 astic should have harpers, or any music, nor should
 permit any jokes or plays in their presence³. In
 Edgar's speech on the expulsion of the clergy, the
 histriones, or gleemen, are noticed as frequenting
 the monasteries: "There are the dice, there are
 "dancing and singing, even to the very middle of
 "the night⁴." Among the canons made in the
 same king's reign, a priest was forbidden to be an
 eala-scop, or an ale poet, or to anywise gliwige, or
 play the gleeman with himself, or with others⁵.
 Strutt has given some drawings of the Saxon glee-
 man from some ancient MSS. I will add his descrip-
 tion of the figures⁶. "We there see a man throwing
 "three balls and three knives alternately into the
 "air, and catching them one by one as they fall,
 "but returning them again in rotation. To give
 "the greater appearance of difficulty to this part,
 "it is accompanied with the music of an instrument
 "resembling the modern violin. It is necessary to
 "add, that these two figures, as well as those
 "dancing, previously mentioned, form a part only
 "of two larger paintings, which, in their original

² Spel. Concil. 256.³ Ibid. 159.⁴ Ethel. Ab. Riev. p. 360.⁵ Spel. Concil. 455.⁶ Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, 132, 133. This book was
 the last publication of this worthy and industrious man.

“ state, are placed as frontispieces to the psalms of C H A P.
VII.
 “ David ; in both, the artists have represented
 “ that monarch seated upon his throne, in the act
 “ of playing upon the harp or lyre, and surrounded
 “ by the masters of sacred music. In addition to
 “ the four figures upon the middle of the plate, and
 “ exclusive of the king, there are four more, all of
 “ them instrumental performers ; one playing upon
 “ the horn, another upon the trumpet, and the
 “ other two upon a kind of tabor or drum, which,
 “ however, is beaten with a single drum-stick. The
 “ manuscript in which this illumination is pre-
 “ served, was written as early as the eighth cen-
 “ tury. The second painting, which is more mo-
 “ dern than the former by two full centuries, con-
 “ tains four figures besides the royal psalmist : the
 “ two not engraved are musicians ; the one is blow-
 “ ing a long trumpet, supported by a staff he holds
 “ in his left hand, and the other is winding a
 “ crooked horn. In a short prologue immediately
 “ preceding the Psalms, we read as follows :
 “ David, filius Jesse, in regno suo quatuor elegit
 “ qui Psalmos fecerunt, id est Afaph, Æman,
 “ Æthan, et Iduthan ; which may be thus trans-
 “ lated literally : David, the son of Jesse, in his
 “ reign, elected four persons who composed psalms,
 “ that is to say, Afaph, Æman, Æthan, and Idu-
 “ than. In the painting these four names are se-
 “ parately appropriated, one to each of the four
 “ personages there represented. The player upon
 “ the violin is called Iduthan, and Æthan is tossing
 “ up the knives and balls.”

⁷ Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 134.

B O O K
II.

ANOTHER passage may be cited from the same industrious and worthy author.

“ ONE part of the gleeman’s profession, as early
 “ as the tenth century, was teaching animals to
 “ dance, to tumble, and to put themselves into va-
 “ riety of attitudes at the command of their mas-
 “ ters. Upon the twenty-second plate we see the
 “ curious though rude delineation, being little
 “ more than an outline, which exhibits a specimen
 “ of this pastime. The principal jocolator appears
 “ in the front, holding a knotted switch in one
 “ hand, and a line attached to the bear in the
 “ other; the animal is lying down in obedience to
 “ his command; and behind them are two more
 “ figures, the one playing upon two flutes or fla-
 “ geolets, and elevating his left leg while he stands
 “ upon his right, supported by a staff that passes
 “ under his arm-pit; the other dancing. This
 “ performance takes place upon an eminence re-
 “ sembling a stage, made with earth; and in the
 “ original a vast concourse are standing round it in
 “ a semicircle as spectators of the sport, but they
 “ are so exceedingly ill drawn, and withal so in-
 “ distinct, that I did not think it worth the pains
 “ to copy them. The dancing, if I may so call it,
 “ of the flute-player is repeated twice in the same
 “ manuscript. I have thence selected two other
 “ figures and placed them upon the seventeenth
 “ plate, where we see a youth playing upon a harp
 “ with only four strings, and apparently singing at
 “ the same time, while an elderly man is perform-
 “ ing the part of a buffoon, or posture-master,

“ holding up one of his legs, and hopping upon
 “ the other to the music ”.

C H A P.
 VII.

IN a Latin MS. of Prudentius, with Saxon notes, there is a drawing which seems to represent a sort of military dance exhibited for public amusement: “ Two men equipped in martial habits,
 “ and each of them armed with a sword and shield,
 “ are engaged in a combat; the performance is
 “ enlivened by the sound of a horn; the musician
 “ acts in a double capacity, and is, together with a
 “ female assistant, dancing round them to the cadence of the music, and probably the actions of
 “ the combatants were also regulated by the same
 “ measure ”.

WE may remark, that the word commonly used in Anglo-Saxon to express dancing, is the verb *tumbian*. The Anglo-Saxon version of the gospels mentions that the daughter of Herodias tum-bude before Herod; and the Anglo-Saxon word for dancer is *tumbere*. It is probable that their mode of dancing included much tumbling.

WE may infer that bear-baiting was an amusement of some importance to our ancestors, as it is

* Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 134. He adds in a note, that “ both these drawings occur in a MS. Pfalter, “ written in Latin, and apparently about the middle of the “ tenth century. It contains many drawings, all of them “ exceedingly rude, and most of them merely outlines. It “ is preserved in the Harleian library, and marked 603.” His twenty-second plate is in the 182d page of his work; his seventeenth plate in p. 132, to which we refer the reader,

9 Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 166. His plate of it is p. 162. The MS. is in the Cotton Lib. Cleop. C. 8.

B O O K stated in Doomſday-book, among the annual payments from Norwich, that it ſhould provide one bear, and fix dogs for the bear.

II. **I**T was in the character of a gleeman, or as it was expreſſed in the Latin term jocolator, that Alfreð viſited the Daniſh encampment. That theſe perſons were not only valued, but well rewarded in their day, we learn from a curious fact: Edmund, the ſon of Ethelred, gave a villa to his gleeman, or jocolator, whoſe name was Hitard. This gleeman, in the decline of life, went on a viſit of devotion to Rome, and previous to his journey gave the land to the church at Canterbury¹⁰. In Doomſday-book Berdic, a jocolator of the king, is ſtated to have poſſeſſed three villas in Glouceſterſhire.

THE Anglo-Saxons uſed a game at hazard, which they called tæſſ. The tæſſ-ſtan, or tæſſ-ſtone, was the die. The canons of Edgar forbid prieſts to be tæſſere, or players at the tæſſ¹¹. There is a paſſage which may be noticed on this ſubject concerning Canute: A biſhop having made a lucrative bargain with a drunken Dane, rode in the night to the king to borrow money to fulfil his contract; it ſays, “ he found the king alleviating the tedium of a “ long night by the play of teſſerarum, or ſcaccorum¹².”; he was ſucceſſful in his application. Whether this play was the tæſſ, or any other game more reſembling cheſs, is not clear.

ONE of their principal diverſions was hunting. This is frequently mentioned. A king is exhi-

¹⁰ Dugdale Mon. p. 21. ¹¹ Spelm. Concil. p. 455.

¹² Hiſt. Rames. 3 Gale, p. 442.

bited by Bede as standing at the fire with his attendants, and warming himself after hunting¹³. C H A P.
VII.

Altred is praised by his friend Affer for his incomparable skill and assiduity in the arts of the chase¹⁴.

He is stated to have gone as far as Cornwall to enjoy it¹⁵. Edmund the grandson of Alfred's hunt at Ceoddri is thus described by a contemporary :

“ When they reached the woods they took various
“ directions among the woody avenues, and lo,
“ from the varied noise of the horns and the bark-
“ ing of the dogs, many stags began to fly about.
“ From these, the king with his pack of hounds,
“ selected one for his own hunting, and pursued
“ it long through devious ways with great agility
“ on his horse, and with the dogs following. In
“ the vicinity of Ceoddri were several abrupt and
“ lofty precipices hanging over profound declivities.
“ To one of these the stag came in his flight, and
“ dashed himself down the immense depth with
“ headlong ruin, all the dogs following and pe-
“ rishing with him. The king, pursuing the ani-
“ mal and the hounds with equal energy, was rush-
“ ing onwards to the precipice ; he saw his danger,
“ and struggled violently to stop his courser ; the
“ horse disobeyed awhile his rein : he gave up the
“ hope of life, he recommended himself to God
“ and his saint, and was carried to the very brink
“ of the destruction before the speed of the animal
“ could be checked. The horse's feet were trem-
“ bling on the last turf of the precipice when he
“ stopped¹⁶. ”

¹³ Bede, iii. 14. ¹⁴ Affer, p. 16. ¹⁵ Ibid. p. 40.

¹⁶ Life of Dunstan. Cott. MSS. Cleop. B. 13.

B O O K

II.

IN the Saxon dialogues above mentioned we have this conversation on hunting : “ I am a hunter “ to one of the kings ” “ How do you exercise your “ art ? ” “ I spread my nets, and set them in a fit “ place, and instruct my hounds to pursue the wild “ deer till they come to the nets unexpectedly, and “ so are entangled, and I slay them in the nets.” “ Cannot you hunt without nets ? ” “ Yes, with “ swift hounds I follow the wild deer.” “ What “ wild deer do you chiefly take ? ” “ Harts, boars, “ and rein-deer (rana), and goats, and sometimes “ hares.” “ Did you hunt to day ? ” “ No, be- “ cause it was Sunday, but yesterday I did. I took “ two harts and one boar.” “ How ? ” “ The “ harts in nets, the boar I slew.” “ How dared “ you slay him ? ” The hounds drove him to me, “ and I standing opposite pierced him.” “ You was “ bold.” “ A hunter should not be fearful, because “ various wild deer live in the woods.” “ What “ do you do with your hunting ? ” “ I give the king “ what I take, because I am his huntsman.” “ What does he give thee ? ” “ He clothes me well, “ and feeds me, and sometimes gives me a horse “ or a bracelet, that I may follow my art more “ lustily.”

WE have a little information about the royal hunting in Doomsday book. When the king went to Shrewsbury to hunt, the most respectable burghers who had horses, served as his guard, with arms ; and the sheriff sent thirty-six men on foot to be stationed at the hunt while the king was there. In Hereford every house sent a man to be stationed in the wood whenever the king hunted.

AMONG the drawings in the Saxon calendar in C H A P.
VII. the Cotton library, Tib. B. 5, the month of September represents a boar-hunt: a wood appears, containing boars; a man is on foot with a spear, another appears with a horn slung and applied to his mouth; he has also a spear, and dogs are following.

HUNTING was forbidden by Canute on a Sunday¹⁷. Every man was allowed to hunt in the woods, and in the fields that were his own, but not to interfere with the king's hunting¹⁸.

HAWKS and falcons were also favourite subjects of amusement, and valuable presents in those days, when the country being much overrun with wood all species of the feathered race must have abounded. A king of Kent begged of a friend abroad two falcons of such skill and courage as to attack cranes willingly, and seizing them to throw them to the ground. He says, he makes this request because there were few hawks of that kind in Kent who produced good offspring, and who could be made agile and courageous enough in this art of warfare¹⁹. Our Boniface sent, among some other presents, a hawk and two falcons to a friend²⁰; and we may infer the common use of the diversion from his forbidding his monks to hunt in the woods with dogs, and from having hawks and falcons²¹. An Anglo-Saxon, by his will, gives two hawks (hafocas), and all his stag-hounds (heador hundas), to his natural lord²². The sportsmen in the train

¹⁷ Wilkin's Leg. Sax. 130.

¹⁸ Ibid. 146.

¹⁹ Mag. Bib. xvi. p. 65.

²⁰ Ib. p. 53.

²¹ Ib. p. 94.

²² Thorpe's Reg. Roff. p. 24.

C H A P. VIII.

Their Marriages.

BOOK
II.

IT is well known that the female sex were much more highly valued and more respectfully treated by the barbarous Gothic nations than by the more polished states of the East. Among the Anglo-Saxons they occupied the same important and independent rank in society which they now enjoy. They were allowed to possess, to inherit, and to transmit landed property; they shared in all the social festivities; they were present at the Witena Gemot and the Shire Gemot; they were permitted to sue and be sued in the courts of justice; their persons, their safety, their liberty, and their property, were protected by express laws, and they possessed all that sweet influence which, while the human heart is responsive to the touch of love, they will ever retain in those countries which have the wisdom and the urbanity to treat them as equal, intelligent, and independent beings.

THE earliest institutions respecting the Anglo-Saxon marriages occur in the laws of Ethelbert. According to these a man might purchase a woman if the agreement was made without fraud; but if deceit was detected, she was to be taken back to her house, and his money was to be restored to him. It was also enjoined, that if a wife brought forth children alive, and survived her husband, she was to have half his property. She was allowed

the same privilege, if she chose, to live with her children; but if she was childless his paternal relations was to have his possessions and the morgan gift¹.

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THE customary forms attendant upon their marriage contracts are more clearly displayed to us in the laws of Edmund: the consent of the lady and her friends was to be first obtained; the bridegroom² was then to give his promise and his pledge to the person who spoke for her, that he desired her that he might keep her, according to the law of God, as a man ought to keep his wife. Nor was this promise trusted to his own honour or interest: the female sex were so much under the protection of the law, that the bridegroom was compelled to produce friends who gave their security for his due observance of his covenant.

THE parties being thus betrothed, the next step was to settle to whom the foster lean, the money requisite for the nourishing the children, should be applied. The bridegroom was then required to pledge himself to this, and his friends became responsible for him.

¹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 7.

² The Saxon word is bryd-guma. Guma means a man, which we have perverted into groom; bryd implies marriage. The Welsh for marriage is priodas; priodvab is a bridegroom; priodi to marry; all these in composition change into an initial b. No one can suspect that such a term as this can by either nation have been derived from the other. But the Welsh has preserved the rationale of the word, which implies appropriation, or proprietorship.

BOOK

II.

THIS matter being arranged, he was then to signify what he meant to give her for choosing to be his wife, and what he should give her in case she survived him. I consider the first gift to be a designation of his intended morgan gift. This was the present which the Anglo Saxon wives received from their husbands on the day after their nuptials, as it is expressed in the law. It seems to have been intended as a compliment to the ladies for honouring a suitor with their preference, and for submitting to the duties of wedlock. The law adds, that if it be so agreed it is right that she should have the property, or have the whole if they had children together, unless she chose again another husband. This was an improvement on the ancient law, which, in the event of no issue, had directed the morgan gift to be returned.

THE bridegroom was then required to confirm with his pledge all that he had promised, and his friends were to become responsible for its due performance.

THESE preliminaries being settled they proceeded to the marriage. Her relations then took and wedded her to wife, and to a right life, with him who desired her, and the person appointed to keep the pledges that had been given took the security for them. For the more complete assurance of the lady's personal safety and comfort in those days, wherein a multiplicity of jurisdictions gave often impunity to crime, the friends who took the pledges were authorized to become guarantee to her, that if her husband carried her into another thane's land

he would do her no injury; and that if she did CHAP.
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wrong they would be ready to answer the compensation, if she had nothing from which she could pay it.

THE law proceeds to direct, that the mass priest should be present at the marriage, and should consecrate their union with the divine blessing to every happiness and prosperity³. There is an article in one of the collections of ecclesiastical canons, "How
" man shall bless the bridegroom and the bride⁴."

THE Anglo-Saxon remains will furnish us with some illustrations of the pecuniary contracts which attended their marriages. We will give one document at length, as it may be called an Anglo-Saxon lady's marriage-settlement.

" THERE appears in this writing the compact
" which Wulfric and the archbishop made when
" he obtained the archbishop's sister for his wife.
" It is, that he promised her the land at Ealretune
" and at Rebbedforda for her life, and promised
" her the land at Cnihte-wica; that he would obtain it for her for the lives of three men from
" the monastery at Wincelcumbe; and he gave
" her the land at Eanulfin-tune to give and to
" grant to those that were dearest to her during
" life, and after her life to those that were dearest
" to her; and he promised her fifty mances of
" gold, and thirty men, and thirty horses. Now
" of this were to witness Wulfstan the archbishop,
" and Leofwin the ealdorman, and Æthelstan

³ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 75, 76.

⁴ MS. CCC. Cantab. S. xii. c. 71.

B O O K II. “ bishop, and Ælfred abbot, and Briten monk,
 “ and many good men in addition to them, both
 “ ecclesiastics and laymen, that this compact was
 “ thus made. Now of this compact there are two
 “ writings; one with the archbishop at Worcester
 “ ceaster, and another with Æthelstan, the bishop
 “ at Herford⁵.”

WITHOUT deviating into an exposition of the customs of other nations as to the morgan gift⁶ we will state a few circumstances concerning it from our own documents. It is frequently mentioned in ladies' wills: thus Wynfleda bequeathing some land at Faccancumb, calls it her morgen gifu⁷. So Elfreda, in her will, says, “ Rettendun that was my
 “ morgen gyfu⁸ ;” and Elfhelm in his will has this passage: “ And I declare what I gave to my
 “ wife for her morgen give; that is, Beadewan,
 “ and Burge stede, and Strætford, and the three
 “ hides at Hean-healem.” The same testator notices an additional present that he had made his wife on her nuptials: “ And I gave to her when we
 “ two first came together, the two hides at Wil-
 “ burgeham, and at Hrægenan, and that thereto
 “ lieth⁹.” The morgen gift was therefore a settle-

⁵ This may be seen in Wanley's Catalogue, p. 302, and Hickee's Diff. Ep. 76. Wulfstan died 1023.

⁶ Henry's observations on the marriage of our ancestors are very discursive, and relate rather to other nations than to the Anglo-Saxons. See his vol. iii. p. 393, &c. The reader of Henry will frequently have occasion to recollect this.

⁷ See her will. Hickee's Pref. xxii.

⁸ See Lye Sax. Dict. voc. morgen gifu.

⁹ See his will at length from Mr. Astle's collection in the second appendix to the Saxon Dictionary.

ment on the lady very fimilar to a modern jointure. C H A P.
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It was bargained for before marriage, but was not actually vefted in the wife till afterwards. Our conception of the thing will be probably fimplified and affifted by recollecting the language of our modern fettlements. The land or property conveyed by them is given in truft for the perfon who grants it “until the faid marriage fhall take effect ; “and from and immediately after the folemnization thereof,” it is then granted to the ufe agreed upon. So the morgen gift was fettled before the nuptials, but was not actually given away until the morning afterwards, or until the marriage was completed.

NOTHING could be more calculated to produce a very ftriking difsimilarity between the Gothic nations and the Oriental ftates than this exaltation of the female fex to that honour, confequence, and independence, which European laws ftudied to uphold. As the education of youth will always reft principally with women in the moft ductile part of life, it is of the greateft importance that the fair fex fhould poffefs high rank and eftimation in fociety, and nothing could more certainly tend to perpetuate this feeling than the privilege of poffeffing property in their own right, and at their own difpofal.

THAT the Anglo-Saxon ladies both inherited and difpofed of property as they pleafed, appears from many inftances : a wife is mentioned who devifed land by her will, with the confent of her husband, in his lifetime¹⁰. We read alfo of land which a

¹⁰. Hift. Ram. 3 Gale, 460.

B O O K wife had sold in her husband's life¹¹. We frequently find wives the parties to a sale of land¹², and still oftener we read of estates given to women, or devised by men of affluence to their wives¹³. Widows selling property is also a common occurrence¹⁴; so is the incident of women devising it¹⁵. That they inherited land is also clear, for a case is mentioned wherein there being no male heir the estate went to a female¹⁶. Women appear as tenants in capite in Doomsday.

THERE are many instances of land being granted to both husband and wife¹⁷. The queens frequently join in the charters with the kings¹⁸; and it is once mentioned, that a widow and the heirs were sued for her husband's debts¹⁹. Indeed, the instances of women having property transferred to them, and also of their transmitting it to others, surround us on all sides. To name only a few: a king's mother gave five hides to a noble matron, which she gave to a monastery²⁰. When a bishop had bought some lands of an husband and a wife, he fixed a day when she should come and surrender

¹¹ Hist. Ram. 3 Gale, 466.

¹² Ibid. 472, 474, 475, 408.

¹³ 3 Gale, 441, 407, 408, and see the wills of Ælfred, Dux, and of Elfhelm, in Sax. Dict. App. 2. and several Saxon grants.

¹⁴ 3 Gale, 468.

¹⁵ Ibid. 471. See the charta of Eadgifa in Sax. Dict. App. and of Wynflæda ap. Hicces.

¹⁶ Ingulf, p. 39.

¹⁷ As in Claud. B. vi. p. 38. So Offa gives land to his minister and his sister. Astle, No. 7. ib. 8.

¹⁸ Astle's Charters, 48, and Heming, p. 9, &c.

¹⁹ 3 Gale, 468.

²⁰ Ibid. 481.

them, because she had the greater right to the land ^{C H A P. VIII.} by a former husband²¹. A mother bequeathed property to two of her daughters, and to her third daughter Leofware she gave an estate at Wedderringesete on the reproachful condition that she should keep herself chaste or marry, that she and her progeny might not be branded with the infamy of the contagion of prostitution²².

IN the oldest Anglo-Saxon law widows were protected by an express regulation. Four ranks are mentioned: an eorlcund's widow, another sort, a third and fourth sort. Their tranquillity invaded was to be punished by fines adapted to their quality, as fifty shillings, twenty, twelve, and six shillings²³.

THEY were also guarded from personal violence. If any took a widow without her consent he was to be fined a double mulct²⁴. It was also expressly forbidden to any one to marry a woman if she was unwilling²⁵.

THE morgen gift was not left optional to the husband to give or withhold after the marriage. One of the laws of Ina expressly provide, that if a man bargained for a woman, and the gift was not duly forthcoming, he should actually pay the money, and also a penalty and a compensation to her sureties for breaking his troth²⁶. The morgen gift was also the means by which they punished widows who married too early. Twelve months was the legal term prescribed for widowhood. By

²¹ 3 Gale, 472.

²² Ibid. 507. So Alfred in his will gives estates to his three daughters, and also money.

²³ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 7.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid. 145.

²⁶ Ibid. 20.

B O O K
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Ethelred's law every widow who kept herself in the peace of God and of the king, and who remained twelve months without a husband, might choose afterwards as she pleased²⁷. But by a subsequent law, if she married within the year, she lost her morgen gift, and all the property which she derived from her first husband²⁸.

THESE pecuniary bargains which were made on the Anglo-Saxon marriages do not breathe much of the spirit of affectionate romance. The men, however, cannot be called mercenary suitors, as they appear to have been the pay-masters. These contracts give occasion to the Saxon legislators to express the fact of treating for a marriage by the terms of buying a wife. Hence our oldest law says, if a man buys a maiden the bargain shall stand if there be no deceit, otherwise, she should be restored to her home, and his money should be returned to him²⁹. So, in the penalty before-mentioned annexed to the non-payment of the morgen gift, the expression used is, if a man buys a wife³⁰. In this kind of marriage bargains it was a necessary protection extended to the lover, that the same law which forbade the compelling a woman to marry the man she disliked, also, as an impartial counterpart of justice, directed that a man should not be forced to give his money unless he was desirous to bestow it of his own free will³¹. There is another passage which tends to express, that marriage was considered as the purchase of the lady. "If a freeman

²⁷ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 109. 122.²⁹ Ibid. 7.³⁰ Ibid. 19.²⁸ Ibid. 145.³¹ Ibid. 145.

“lays with the wife of a freeman he must pay the
 “were, and obtain another woman with his own
 “money, and lead her to the other³².” In this
 point we have greatly improved on the customs, or
 at least the language of our ancestors. Pecuniary
 considerations and arrangements are still important
 formulas preceding marriages; but ladies frequent-
 ly bring their husband property instead of receiving
 it, and if they do not, their affection and attentions
 are his dearest treasure. They are not now either
 bought or sold, unless where interest counterfeits
 affection.

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AFTER adding that marriages were forbidden
 within certain degrees of consanguinity³³, we have
 only the unpleasing task remaining of mentioning
 the penalties which were attached to the violation
 of female chastity.

IF a slave committed a rape on a female in the
 servile state, he was punished with a corporal mu-
 tilation. If any one compelled an immature maiden,
 he was to abide the same punishment. Whoever
 violated a ceorle's wife was to pay him five shil-
 lings, and be fined sixty shillings³⁴.

FOR adultery with the wife of a twelve hundred
 man the offender was to pay one hundred and
 twenty shillings, and one hundred shillings for the
 wife of a six hundred man, and forty shillings for a
 ceorle's wife. This might be paid in live property,
 and no man might sell another for it. For the de-
 grees of intimacy with a ceorle's wife, which are
 specified, various fines were exacted³⁵.

³² Wilk. Leg. Sax. 4.

³³ Ibid. 52. 129.

³⁴ Ibid. 40.

³⁵ Ibid. 37.

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THE earliest Saxon laws were attentive to this vice: in those of Ethelred fifty shillings were the appointed penalty for intimacy with the king's maiden, half that sum with his grinding servant, and twelve shillings with another, or with an earl's cupbearer. The chastity of a ceorle's attendant was guarded by six shillings, and of inferior servants by the diminished penalty of fifty and thirty scættas ³⁶.

By the same laws, for a rape on a servile woman, the offender was to pay her owner fifty shillings, and then to buy her at the will of her owner. If she was pregnant he was to pay thirty-five shillings and fifteen shillings to the king, and twenty shillings if betrothed to another ³⁷.

³⁶ Wilk. Lex. Sax. p. 3.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 7.

CHAP. IX.

Classes and Condition of Society.

EVERY man in the Anglo-Saxon society be- CHAP.
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neath the cyning and his family was in one of these classes. He was either in high estimation from his birth, or he was in a state of dignity of office or from property, or he was a free-man, or a freed-man, or he was in one of the servile classes.

THERE was certainly a personal distinction arising from birth. Individuals are described in these times as noble by descent¹. The expression *ethelboren*, or noble born, occurs several times, even in the laws². A very forcible passage on this subject appears in the life of St. Guthlac: "There was a noble (*ethela*) man in the high nation of the Mercians; he was of the oldest race, and the noblest (*æthelstan*) that was named *Iclingas*."³ The sense of this cannot be mistaken: a family is expressly distinguished from the rest by an appropriated name "*Iclingas*." We may recollect here that Iornandes says of the Goths, that they had a noble race called the *Balthæ*, from whence Alaric sprung⁴. In the canons of Edgar another decisive passage attests, that superiority of birth was felt to convey superior consequence; for it was found ne-

¹ 3. Gale Script. 395. 417, 418.

MS. Vesp. D. xiv. p. 36. 120. and Wilk. Leg. Sax. 37.

MS. Vesp. D. xxi. p. 19.

See vol. i. of Hist. Anglo-Saxons, 93.

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cessary to require, "that no forth-boren priest
"despise one that is less born, because if men think
"rightly all men are of one origin⁵." No peculiar titles, as with us, seem to have distinguished the nobly born; they were rather marked out to their fellows by that name of the family which had become illustrious, as the Fabii and Corneli of the Romans. Their title was formed by the addition of ing to the name of the ancestor whose fame produced their glory. Thus from Uffa his posterity was called Uffingas⁶. So Beowulf, the hero of an Anglo-Saxon poem, was one of the Scyldingas.

Beowulf was illustrious;
The fruit wide sprang
Of the posterity of the Scylde.

Then was in the burghs
Beowulf, the Scyldinga,
The dear king of his people.

With them the Scyld
Departed to the ship,
While many were prone to go
In the path of their lord.
They him then bore
To the journey of the ocean
As his companions,
He himself commanded;
Whence with words he governed
The Scyldinga of battle⁷.

THE birth that was thought illustrious conferred personal honour, but no political rank or power.

⁵ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 83.

⁶ Polych. Higd. 3 Gale, p. 224.

⁷ MS. Cott. Lib. Vit. A. xv. p. 129, 130.

No title was attached to it which descended by ^{C H A P.} ^{IX.} heirship and gave a perpetuity of political privileges. That was a later improvement. In theoretical reasoning, and in the eye of religion, the distinction of birth seems to be an unjust prejudice; we have all one common ancestor, and the same Creator, protector, and judge; but the morality and merit of society is the product of very complicated and diversified motives, and is never so superabundant as to suffer uninjured the loss of any one of its incentives and supports. The fame of an applauded ancestor has stimulated many to perform noble actions, or to preserve an honourable character, and will continue so to operate while human nature exists. It creates a sentiment of honour, a dread of disgrace, an useful pride of name, which, though not universally efficient, will frequently check the vicious propensities of passion or selfishness, when reason or religion has exhorted in vain. The distinction of birth may be therefore added to the exaltation of the female sex as another of those peculiarities which have tended to extract from the barbarism of the Gothic nations a far nobler character than any that the rich climates of the east could rear.

THAT there was a nobility from landed property distinct from that of birth, attainable by every one, and possessing (what noble birth had not of itself) political rank and immunities, is very often clear from several passages. It is mentioned in the laws, as an incentive to proper actions, that through God's gift a servile thræl may become a thane, and a ceorl, an eorl, just as a finger may become a priest.

B O O K and a bocere (a writer) a bishop⁸. In the time of

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Ethelstan it is expressly declared, that if a ceorle have the full proprietorship of five hides of his own land, a church, and kitchen, a bell-house, a burhgate-seat, and an appropriate office in the king's hall, he shall thenceforth be a thegen or thane by right⁹. The same laws provide that a thegen may arrive at the dignity of an eorl, and that a massere, or merchant, who went three times over sea with his own craft, might become a thegen¹⁰. But the most curious passage on this subject is that which attests that without the possession of a certain quantity of landed property the dignity of sitting in the witenagemot could not be enjoyed, not even though the person was noble already. An abbot of Ely had a brother who was courting the daughter of a great man, but the lady refused him because, although noble, he had not the lordship of forty hides, and therefore could not be numbered among the proceres or witenas. To enable him to gratify his love and her ambition, the abbot conveyed to him certain lands belonging to his monastery. The nuptials took place, and the fraud was for some time undiscovered¹¹.

THE principle of distinguishing men by their property is also established in the laws. Thus we read of twyhyndum, of syxhyndum, and of twelfhyndum men¹². A twyhynde man was level in his were with a ceorle,¹³ and a twelfhynde with a

⁸ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 112.

⁹ Ibid. 70.

¹⁰ Ibid. 71.

¹¹ Hist. Eliens. 3 Gale Scrip. 513.

¹² Wilk. Leg. Sax. 25. 33.

¹³ Ibid. 64. and 3 Gale, 423.

thegn¹⁴. But though property might confer distinction, yet it was the possession of landed property which raised a man to those titles which might be called ennobling. Hence it is mentioned, that though a ceorle should attain to a helmet, mail, and a gold-hilted sword, yet if he had no land he must still remain a ceorle¹⁵.

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THE species of nobility which was gained by official dignities appears to have appertained to the ealdorman, the eorl, the heretoch, and the thegen, when he was a king's thegen. A certain portion of rank was also conceded to the gerefa and the scir-reve. There was a still inferior degree of consequence derived from being ealdor of an hundred, and such-like minor offices which the laws sometimes recognize¹⁶.

THE dignity from office conferred some beneficial distinction on the family of the person possessing it; for the laws speak of an eorl-cunde widow, and defend her by exacting compensations for wrongs committed against her much superior to those of other women¹⁷.

OFFICIAL dignities were conferred by the king, and were liable to be taken away by him on illegal conduct. This is the language with which, according to Asser, Alfred addressed his great men: "I wonder at your audacity that by the gift of God and by my gift you have assumed the ministry and the degree of the wise men, and yet have neglected the study and labour of wisdom. There-

¹⁴ Leg. Sax. 16.

¹⁵ Ibid. 71.

¹⁶ As in the ealdor of the hundred. Ibid. p. 81.

¹⁷ Ibid. 7.

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 “ministry of earthly power which you enjoy, or
 “that you study wisdom more attentively¹⁸.” In
 the laws we find an ealdorman threatened with the
 loss of his shire unless the king pardon him for
 conniving at the escape of a thief¹⁹. So a thegn
 is threatened with the perpetual loss of his thegen-
 ship for an unjust judgment, unless he prove by oath
 that he knew not how to give a better decision.
 But the king in this case also had the option of
 restoring him²⁰. In the same manner the gerefas
 are menaced with the deprivation of their post of
 honour on committing the offences described in the
 law²¹. The exact nature and duties of these dig-
 nified officers will be considered more minutely
 under the head of Government.

THE rest of the Anglo-Saxon society consisted of
 three descriptions of men, the free, the freed, and
 the servile.

IN talking of the Anglo-Saxon freemen we must
 not let our minds expatiate on an ideal character
 which eloquence and hope have invested with
 charms almost magical. No utopian state, no pa-
 radise of such a pure republic as reason can con-
 ceive, but as human nature can neither establish nor
 support, is about to shine around us when we de-
 scribe the Anglo-Saxon freeman. A freeman
 among our ancestors was not that dignified inde-
 pendent being, “lord of the lion heart and eagle
 “eye,” which our poets fancy under this appella-

¹⁸ After Vit. Ælf. 71.

¹⁹ Leges Inæ, p. 20.

²⁰ Leges Edgari, p. 78, et. Cnuti, p. 135.

²¹ Leges Sax. p. 69.

tion; he was rather an Anglo-Saxon not in the servile state; not property attached to the land as the slaves were; he was freed from the oppression of arbitrary bondage; he was often a servant, and a master, but he had the liberty to quit the service of one lord and choose another.

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THAT the Anglo Saxon freemen were frequently servants, and had their masters, may be proved by a variety of passages in our ancient remains: "If any give flesh to his servants on fast-days, whether they be free or servile, he must compensate for the pillory²²." So, in the laws of Ina, "if a freeman work on a Sunday without his lord's orders, he shall lose his liberty, or pay sixty shillings²³." That freemen were in laborious and subordinate conditions is also strongly implied by a law of Alfred, which says, "These days are for- given to all freemen excepting servants and working slaves." The days were twelve days at Christmas, Passion week, and Easter week, and a few others²⁴. An Anglo Saxon, in a charter, says, with all my men, both servile and freemen²⁵.

THEIR state of freedom had great benefits and some inconveniences: a slave being the property of another, his master was responsible for his delinquencies; but a freeman, not having a lord to pay for him, was obliged to be under perpetual bail or sureties, who engaged to produce him whenever he should be accused²⁶. Being of more personal consideration in society his mulcts were proportionably

²² Leg. Wihtrædi, 11.

²³ Leg. Inæ, 15.

²⁴ Leg. Ælf. 44.

²⁵ Thorpe Reg. Roff. 357.

²⁶ Leg. Ethelr. 102.

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greater. If he stole from the king he was obliged to pay a ninefold compensation²⁷; if a freeman stole from a freeman he was to compensate threefold, and all his goods and the penalty was to go to the king²⁸. The principle of greater compensation from the free than the servile pervades our ancient laws.

BUT the benefits of freedom are at all times incalculable, and have been happily progressive. If they had been no more than the power of changing their master at their own pleasure, as our present domestic servants do, even this was a most valuable privilege, and this they exercised. We have an instance of a certain huntsman mentioned, who left the lordship of his master and his land, and chose himself another lord²⁹.

THEY had many other advantages; their persons were frequently respected in their punishments: thus a theow who broke an appointed fast might be whipped, but a freeman was to pay a mulct³⁰. It was no small benefit that the king was their legal lord and patron: "If any kill a freeman, the king shall receive fifty shillings for lordship³¹." Upon the same principle, if a freeman were taken with a theft in his hand, the king had the choice of the punishment to be inflicted on him; he might kill him, he might sell him over sea, or receive his wære³². That they were valued and protected by our ancient legislation is evident from the provision made for their personal liberty: whoever put a

²⁷ Leg. Ethelb. 2.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ MS. Charters of the late Mr. Astle, 28.

³⁰ Leg. Sax. 53.

³¹ Ibid. p. 2.

³² Ibid. p. 12.

freeman into bonds was to forfeit twenty shillings³³. C H A P.
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THIS happy state of freedom might, however, be lost: the degradation from liberty to slavery was one of the punishments attached to the free. We have mentioned already that one offence which incurred it was violating the sabbath. A freeman reduced to slavery by the penalties of law was called a wite theow³⁴, a penal slave. Under this denomination he occurs in the laws, and is frequently mentioned in wills. Thus Wynfleda, directing the emancipation of some slaves, extends the same benevolence to her wite theow, if there be any³⁵. So an archbishop directs all such to be freed who in his time had been mulcted of their liberty³⁶. A freeman so reduced to slavery became again subject to corporal punishment; for it was ordered, that one who had stolen while free, might receive stripes from his prosecutor. It was also ordered, that if, while a wite theow, he stole, he was to be hanged³⁷.

It is well known that a large proportion of the Anglo-Saxon population was in a state of slavery. This unfortunate class of men, who were called theow and esne, are frequently mentioned in our ancient laws and charters, and are exhibited in the servile condition of being another's property, without any political existence or social consideration.

³³ Leg. Sax. p. 3.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 22.

³⁵ Hickes Pref. Gram.

³⁶ MS. Claud. C. ix. p. 125.

³⁷ Leg. Sax. 22. and p. 18.

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11.

THEY were bought and sold with land, and were conveyed in the grants of it promiscuously with the cattle and other property upon it. Thus, in an enumeration of property on an estate, it is said there were a hundred sheep, fifty-five swine, two men, and five yoked oxen³⁸. At another time we find some land given up without injury to any thing belonging to it, whether men, cattle, or food³⁹. So one bought land for thirty pounds, and gave seven pounds more for all the things on it, as men, stock, and corn⁴⁰.

IN the Anglo-Saxon wills these wretched beings are given away precisely as we now dispose of our plate, our furniture, or our money. An archbishop bequeaths some land to an abbey, with ten oxen and two men⁴¹. Ælfhelm bequeaths his chief mansion at Gyrstingthorpe, with all the property that stood thereon, both provisions and men⁴². Wynflæda, in her will, gives to her daughter the land at Ebbelesburn, and those men, the property, and all that thereon be; afterwards she gives "to Eadmær as much property and as many men as to him had been bequeathed before at Hafene⁴³." In another part of her will she says, "of those theowan men at Cinnuc she bequeaths to Eadwold, Ceolstan the son of Elstan, and the son of Effa, and Burwhyn Mærtin; and she bequeaths to Eadgyfu Ælfsige the cook, and Tefl the daughter of Wareburga, and Here-

³⁸ 3 Gale Script. 481.³⁹ Heming. Chartul. p. 166.⁴⁰ 3 Gale, 478.⁴¹ MS. Cott. C. ix. p. 125.⁴² Test. Ælfhelmi. App. Sax. Dict.⁴³ Test. Wynfl. Hicces Pref.

“ stan and his wife, and Ecelm and his wife and their
 “ child, and Cynestan, and Wynfige, and the son of
 “ Bryhtric, and Edwyn, and the son of Bunel,
 “ and the daughter of Ælfwer.” Wulfgar in his
 will says, “ I give to Ælfere Abbot the lands at
 “ Ferfcesford, with the provisions, and with the
 “ men, and with all the produce as it is cultivated.”
 This will contains several bequests of this sort “

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THEIR servile state was attended with all the horrors of slavery, descending on the posterity of the subjected individuals. A duke in Mercia added to a donation “ six men, who formerly belonged
 “ to the royal villa in Berhtanwellan, with all their
 “ offspring and their family, that they may always
 “ belong to the land of the aforesaid church in perpetual inheritance.” To this gift is added the names of the slaves. “ These are the names of
 “ those men that are in this writing, with their
 “ offspring and their family that come from them
 “ in perpetual heritage: Alhmund, Tidulf, Tidheh,
 “ Lull, Lull, Eadwulf⁴⁵.” That whole families were in a state of slavery appears most satisfactorily from the instruments of manumission which remain to us. In them we find a man, his wife, and their offspring, frequently redeemed together; and in Wynffeda’s will the wives and daughters of some slaves the names are directed to be emancipated. Ethelstan, after stating that he freed Eadelm be-

⁴⁴ Test. Wulf. Hiccs Diff. Ep. 54.

⁴⁵ Heming. Chart. Wig. p. 61, 62, and for the next paragraphs see Hiccs Diff. Ep. p. 12, and his Preface, and Wanley’s Catalogue, p. 181.

B O O K cause he had become king, adds, "and I give to
 II. "the children the same benefit as I give to the
 "father."

SOME of the prices of slaves appear in the written contracts of their purchase which have survived. "Here is declared in this book that Ediwic, the widow of Sæwgels, bought Gladu at Colewin for half a pound for the price and the toll, and Ælword, the port gerefa, took the toll; and thereto was witness Leowin brother of Leoword, and Ælwi blaca, and Ælwin the king, and Landbirht, and Alca, and Sæwerd, and may he have God's curse forever that this ever undoes. Amen." So Egelfig bought Wynric of an abbot for an yre of gold; another was bought for three mancufæ⁴⁶. The tolls mentioned in some of the contracts for slaves may be illustrated out of Doomſday-book. In the burgh of Lewes it says, that, at every purchase and sale, money was paid to the gerefa: for an ox a farthing was collected; for a man four pennies.

THAT the Anglo-Saxons were sold at Rome we learn from the well-known anecdote mentioned by Bede of Pope Gregory seeing them in the markets there. We also read of one being sold in London to a Frisian⁴⁷, and of a person in France relieving many from slavery, especially Saxons, probably continental Saxons, who then abounded in that country⁴⁸. It was expressly enjoined in one of the later

⁴⁶ Hickes Diff. p. 12, and App. Sax. Dict.

⁴⁷ Bede, 166.

⁴⁸ Bouquet's Recueil des Historiens, t. 3. p. 553.

laws, that no Christians, or innocent man, should be sold from the land⁴⁹. They appear to have been very numerous. It is mentioned that there were two hundred and fifty slaves, men and women, in the lands given by the king to Wilfrid⁵⁰. But to have a just idea of their number we must inspect their enumeration in Doomsday-book. No portion of land scarcely is there mentioned without some.

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WHEN we consider the condition of the servile, as it appears in the Saxon laws, we shall find it to

⁴⁹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 107. I take the following from Dr. Henry, vol. iv. p. 238. "Some young men were exported from Northumberland to be sold, according to a custom which seems to be natural to the people of that country of selling their nearest relations for their own advantage." Malmsh. lib. i. c. 3. "There is a seaport-town, called Bristol, opposite to Ireland, into which its inhabitants make frequent voyages on account of trade. Wulfstan cured the people of this town of a most odious and inveterate custom, which they derived from their ancestors, of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting them to Ireland for the sake of gain. The young women they commonly got with child, and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price. You might have seen, with sorrow, long ranks of young persons of both sexes, and of the greatest beauty, tied together with ropes, and daily exposed to sale: nor were these men ashamed, O horrid wickedness! to give up their nearest relations, nay their own children to slavery. Wulfstan, knowing the obstinacy of these people, sometimes stayed two months among them, preaching every Lord's day; by which, in process of time, he made so great an impression upon their minds, that they abandoned that wicked trade, and set an example to all the rest of England to do the same."

⁵⁰ Bede, iv. c. 13.

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be very degraded indeed. They were allowed to be put into bonds, and to be whipped⁵¹. They might be branded⁵², and on one occasion they are spoken of as if actually yoked: "Let every man know his teams of men, of horses, and oxen"⁵³.

THEY were allowed to accumulate some property of their own. We infer this from the laws having subjected them to pecuniary punishments, and from their frequently purchasing their own freedom. If an *esne* did theow-work against his lord's command, on Sunday evening after sun-set and before the moon set, he was to pay eighty shillings to his lord⁵⁴. If a theow gave offerings to idols, or eat flesh willingly on a fast-day, he was mulcted six shillings, or had to suffer in his hide⁵⁵. If an *esne* killed another *esne*, who was in no act of offence, he forfeited all he was worth; but if he killed a freeman his geld was to be one hundred shillings; he was to be given up by his owner, who was to add the price of another man⁵⁶.

A FATHER, if very poor, was allowed to give his son up to slavery for seven years, if the child consented to it.⁵⁷

If the mass of the Anglo-Saxon population had continued in this servile state, the progress of the nation in the improvements of society would have been very small. But a better destiny awaited them: the custom of manumission began, and the diffusion of Christianity, by mildly attempering the

⁵¹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 15. 22. 52, 53. 59.

⁵² Ibid. p. 103. 139.

⁵³ Ibid. p. 11.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 8.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 47.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 11.

⁵⁷ 1 Wilk. Conc. 130.

feelings of the individual, and by compelling him to cultivate acts of benevolence as a religious duty, C H A P.
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We have many instances of the emancipation of slaves: a landholder, in Edgar's time, who had thirty men on his grounds, directed that out of these thirteen should be liberated as lot should decide, so that placed in the highway they might go wherever they pleased³³. It seems to have been an exercise of philanthropy, not uncommon in wills, to give freedom to some of this pitiable class of human kind. Wynfleda displays the compassionate feelings of her sex very strikingly by directing the emancipation of several of her slaves: "Let Wulware be freed, and follow whomsoever he likes best; and let Wulfæde be freed, on the condition that she follow Æthelfleda and Eadgifa (her daughters); and let Gerburg be freed, and Miscin, and the daughter of Burhulf at Cinnuc; and Ælfsige, and his wife, and his eldest daughter, and Ceolstane's wife; and at Ceorlatune let Pifus be freed, and Edwin, and ———'s wife; and at Saccuncumbe let Ædelm be freed, and man, and Johannan, and Spror and his wife, and Enefette, and Gerfand, and Snel; and at Colleshylle let Æthelgythe be freed, and Bicca's wife, and Æffa, and Beda, and Gurhan's wife, and let Bryhfig's wife, the sister of Wulfar be freed; and ——— the workman, and Wulfgythe the daughter of Ælfswythe³⁴."

³³ 3 Gale Script. 407.

³⁴ Hickee Pref. xxii.

BOOK II. **WE** have many instruments of manumission extant, from which we learn many of the causes which produced it.

SOMETIMES individuals, from their benevolence, gave them their freedom. Thus Halwun Noce, of Exeter, freed Hagel, his family woman⁶⁰; and so Lifgith and his two children were declared free⁶¹. Sometimes the charitable kindness of others redeemed them: "Here appeareth in this Christ's book, that "Siwine the son of Leofwie, at Lincumb, "hath bought Sydelstæda out with five shillings and "..... pennies, to perpetual freedom, of John "the bishop and all the family at Bath; and "hereto witness is Godric Ladda, and Sæwold, "and his two sons Scirewold and Brihtwold⁶²." So Æilgyfu the Good redeemed Hig and Dunna and their offspring for thirteen mancun⁶³. We will give another specimen of these benevolent actions: "Here it is stated in this writing, that "Aluric, the canon of Exeter, redeemed Reinold "and his children, and all their offspring, of Herberdi, for two shillings; and Aluric called them "free and sac-less, in town and from town, for "God's love; and the witness to this is, &c.⁶⁴

SOMETIMES piety procured a manumission. Thus two Irishmen were freed for the sake of an abbot's soul⁶⁵. But the most interesting kind of emancipation appears in those writings which announce to

⁶⁰ Hickes Diff. Ep. 12.

⁶¹ Sax. Dict. App.

⁶² Sax. Dict. App.

⁶³ Hickes Diff. Ep. 12.

⁶⁴ Wanley Catal. 152.

⁶⁵ Sax. Dict. App.

us, that the slaves had purchased their own liberty, or that of their family. Thus Edric bought the perpetual freedom of Sægýfa, his daughter, and all her offspring. So for one pound Elfwig the Red, purchased his own liberty, and Sæwi Hagg bought out his two sons⁶⁶. Godwin the Pale, is also notified to have liberated himself, his wife, and children, for fifteen shillings. Brightmær bought the perpetual freedom of himself, his wife Ælgyfu, their children and grandchildren, for two pounds. Leofenoth redeemed himself and his offspring for five oran and twelve sheep; and Ægelfig bought his son's liberty for sixty pennies⁶⁷.

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THE Anglo-Saxon laws recognized the liberation of slaves, and placed them under legal protection. In one of them it is declared, that if any of them freed his slave at the altar, the theow should become folk-free, or free among the people; but his former owner was to possess his property, his were-geld, and his mund⁶⁸. It was enjoined by the synod, held in 816, that at the death of a bishop, his English slaves, who had been reduced to slavery in his life-time, should be freed⁶⁹.

THE liberal feelings of our ancestors towards their enslaved domestics are not only evidenced in the frequent manumissions, but also in the generous gifts which they appear to have made them. The grants of land from masters to their servants are very common.

⁶⁶ See all these emancipations in the Appendix to the Saxon Dictionary.

⁶⁷ Hicces Diff. Ep. 13. 9. 10.

⁶⁸ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 11.

⁶⁹ Spel. Conc. 330.

CHAP. X.

Their Gilds or Clubs.

BOOK ^{II.} **T**HE gilds, or social confederations, in which many of the Anglo-Saxons chose to arrange themselves, deserve our peculiar attention; we will describe them as they appear to us from some MSS. of their instruments of association which are yet in being.

ONE of these is a gild-scipe, composed of eighteen members, at Exeter, whose names are mentioned in it, and to which the bishop and canons are stated to have acceded. It recites, that they have undertaken the association in mutual fraternity; the objects of their union appear to have been that every hearth or family should, at Easter in every year, pay one penny, and on the death of every member of the gild one penny, whether man or woman, for the soul's-scot. The canons were to have this soul's-scot, and to perform the necessary rites¹. This gild scipe somewhat resembles one of our benefit societies, in which the members make small stated payments, and are buried at the expences of the fund so raised.

ANOTHER gild-scipe at Exeter purports to have been made for God's love, and their soul's need, and to have agreed that their meetings should be thrice a year; viz. at Michaelmas, at Mary's Mass,

¹ Our illustrious Hickes has printed this gild-scipe agreement, with others, in his Dissert. Epist. p. 18.

over Midwinter, and at the holy days after Easter. C H A P.
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Every member was to bring a certain portion of malt, and every cnibt was to add a less quantity and some honey. The mass priest was to sing a mass for their living friends, and another for their dead friends, and every brother two psalms. At the death of every member six psalms were to be chanted, and every man at the jub, rope was to pay five pennies, and at a house-burning one penny. If any man neglected the appointed days he was to be fined the first time in three masses, the second in five, and the third time no man was to share with him, unless sickness or the compulsion of the Lord occasioned his absence. If any one neglected his payments at the appointed time he was to pay double; and if any member mis-greeted another he was to forfeit thirty pence. It concludes thus: "We pray for the love of God that every man hold this meeting rightly, so as we have rightly agreed it should be. May God assist us in this."

THERE is an instrument made on the establishment of a gild of thegns at Cambridge. By this every member was to take an oath of true fidelity to each other, and the gild was always to assist him who had the most just claim. If any of the gild died, all the gild-scipe was to carry him wherever he desired; and if any neglected to attend on this occasion he was fined in a syster of honey, and the gild-scipe was to furnish half of the provisions at the interment, and every one was to pay twopence

B O O K for alms, and what was suitable was to be taken to
 11. **St. Etheldrytha.** If any of the gild should need
 the assistance of his companions, and it was men-
 tioned to the gerefæ nearest the gild, unless the gild
 itself was near, then if the gerefæ neglected him he
 was to pay one pound. If the lord neglected it he
 was to forfeit the same sum, unless his superior
 claims compelled him to the inattention, or sickness
 prevented. If any killed one of a gild eight pounds
 were to be the compensation; and if the homicide
 did not pay it, all the gildship were to avenge their
 member, and to support the consequences: if one
 did it, all were to bear alike. If any of the gild
 killed any other person, and was in distress, and had
 to pay for the wrong, and the slain be a twelf-
 hinde person, every one of the gild must help with
 half a mark. If the slain be a ceorl, let each pay
 two ora, or one ora if a Welshman. If the gild-
 man kills any one wilfully or foolishly he must
 bear himself what he should do; and if he should
 kill any of the gild by his own folly, he and his
 relations must abide the consequence, and pay
 eight pounds for the gild, or else lose its society and
 friendship. If any of the gild eat or drink with the
 homicide, unless before the king, or the lord bishop,
 or the ealdorman, he must pay a pound, unless, with
 two persons sitting, he can prove that he did not
 know it. If any of the gild misgreet another, let
 him pay a syster of honey, unless, with two friends,
 he can clear himself. If a cniht draw a weapon let
 him pay his lord a pound, and let the lord have it
 where he may, and all the gild-scipe shall help him
 to get it. If the cniht wound another let the lord

avenge it. If the cniht sit within the path let him C H A P.
 pay a fyfter of honey, and if he has a foot-seat let X.
 him do the same. If any of the gild die, or fall
 sick, out of the district, let the gild fetch him, and
 bring him as he wished, either dead or alive, under
 the penalty before-mentioned. If he die at home,
 and the gild seek not the body, nor his morgen
 space, let a fyfter of honey be forfeited³.

THESE gilds are sometimes alluded to in the laws.
 If a man without paternal relations should fight and
 kill another, then his maternal kinsmen were or-
 dered to pay one third of the were, his gild a third,
 and for the other part his gild was to escape⁴. In
 London there appear to have been free gilds:
 "This is the council that the bishops and gerefas
 "that belong to London borough have pronounced,
 "and with pledges confirmed in our free gilds⁵."
 In a charter concerning Canterbury the three
 companies of the citizens within the walls, and
 those without are mentioned⁶. Doomsday-book
 likewise notices a gild of the clergy in the same
 city⁷. They seem, on the whole, to have been
 friendly associations made for mutual aid and con-
 tribution to meet the pecuniary exigencies which
 were perpetually arising from burials, legal exac-
 tions, penal mulcts, and other payments or com-
 pensations. That much good fellowship was con-

³ Hicckes Dissert. Epist. p. 20.

⁴ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 41, and see the laws, p. 18.

⁵ Ibid. p. 65.

⁶ MS. Chart. penes the late Mr. Aistle, "tha threo ge-
 "ferfiras inne burhwara and utan burhwara." No. 28.

⁷ "32 inauguras quas tenent clerici de villa in gildam
 "suam," Doomsday, f. 3.

BOOK ^{II.} knected with them can be doubted by no one. The
 fines of their own imposition imply that the materials of conviviality were not forgotten. These associations may be called the Anglo-Saxon clubs.

THAT in mercantile towns and sea-ports there were also gilds or fraternities of men constituted for the purpose of carrying on more successful enterprizes in commerce, even in the Anglo-Saxon times, appears to be a fact. Doomsday-book mentions the gihalla, or guildhall of the burghers of Dover².

* "In quibus erat gihalla burgensium." Doomsday.
 ‡ 1.

CHAP. XI.

*Their Trades, mechanical Arts, and Foreign
Commerce.*

IN the present state, and under the fortunate con-
stitution of the British islands, our tradesmen
and manufacturers are an order of men who con-
tribute essentially to uphold our national rank and
character. They are not only the fountains of that
commerce which rewards us with the wealth of the
world, but they are perpetually supplying the other
classes and professions of society with new accessions
of persons and property, which keeps the great ma-
chine of our political greatness in constant strength
and activity.

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SOME proportion of these advantages has been
reaped by England from the trading part of its
community in every stage of its commercial pro-
gression. But the farther we recede into anti-
quity the benefits were more rare, because this
class of society in the remote ages were neither
numerous, opulent, nor civilized. Our earlier an-
cestors had not learnt the utility of dividing la-
bour; hence, their productions were less skilful.
The tradesmen of the Anglo-Saxons were, for the
most part, men in a servile state. The clergy, the
rich, and the great, had domestic servants, who
were qualified to supply them with those articles of
trade and manufacture which were in common use.
Hence, in monasteries, we find smiths, carpenters,

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II.

millers, illuminators, architects, agriculturists, fishermen. Thus a monk is described as well skilled in smith craft¹. Thus Wynfleda, in her will, mentions the servants she employed in weaving and sewing; and there are many grants of land remaining in which men of landed property rewarded their servants who excelled in different trades. In one grant the brother of Godwin gives to a monastery a manor, with its appendages; that is, his overseer and all his chattels, his smith, carpenter, fisherman, miller; all these servants, and all their goods and chattels. (1 Dugd. Mon. 306.)

By degrees the manumission of slaves increased the numbers of the independent part of the lower orders. Some of the emancipated became agricultural labourers, and took land of the clergy and the great, paying them an annual gafol, or rent; but many went to the burgs and towns, and as the king was the lord of the free they resided in these under his protection, and became free burghers or burgeses. In these burgs and towns they appear to have occupied houses, paying him rent, or other occasional compensations, and sometimes performing services for him. Thus, in Canterbury, Edward had fifty-one burghers paying him gafol or rent, and over two hundred and twelve others he had the legal jurisdiction². In Bath the king had sixty-four burghers, who yielded four pounds³. In Exeter the king had two hundred and eighty-five houses, paying eighteen pounds a year⁴. In

¹ Bede, v. c. 14, and p. 634.

² Doomfday-book, fo. 2.

³ Ibid. p. 87.

⁴ Ibid. p. 100.

some other places we find such compensations as these mentioned: "twelve sheep and lambs and
 "one bloom of iron from every free man". For
 toll, gafol, and all customs, Oxford paid the king
 twenty pounds a year, and six sextaria of honey⁶.
 At Dover when the king's messenger arrived, the
 burghers had to pay three-pence for transporting
 his horse in winter, and two-pence in summer.
 They also provided a steersman and helper⁷.

IN the burgs some of the inhabitants were under
 other lords. Thus in Romenel twenty-five burghers
 belonged to the archbishop. In Bath, after the
 king's burghers are mentioned, it is said that ninety
 burghers of other men yielded sixty shillings. In
 the same place the church of Saint Peter had
 thirty-four burghers, who paid twenty shillings⁸.
 At Romenel, besides those who were under the
 archbishop, one Robert is stated to have had fifty
 burghers, of whom the king had every service, but
 they were freed, on account of their service at sea,
 from every custom, except robbery, breach of the
 peace, and forestel⁹.

IN these places the services and charges were
 sometimes most rigorously exacted. It is stated of
 Hereford, that if any one wished to retire from the
 city he might, with leave of the gerefa, sell his
 house; if he found a purchaser who was willing to
 perform in his stead the accustomed services, and in
 this event the gerefa had the third penny of the
 sale. But if any one from his poverty could not

⁶ Doomſday-book, fo. 87, and 92, and 94.

⁷ Ibid. Corn. Oxf. ⁸ Ibid. fo. 1.

⁹ Ibid. fo. 10. ⁹ Ibid. fo. 87.

B O O K do the regular service, he was compelled to abandon his house to the gerefa without any consideration. The gerefa had then to take care that the house did not remain empty, that the king might not lose his dues¹⁰.

In some burghs the members had been so wealthy as to have acquired themselves a property in the burg. Thus, at Canterbury, the burghers had forty-five mansuras without the city, of which they took the gafol and the custom, while the king retained the legal jurisdiction. They also held of the king thirty-three acres of land in their gild¹¹.

But this state of subjection to gafols, customs, and services, under which the people of the burghs and towns continued, had this great advantage over the condition of the servile, that the exacted burthens were definite and certain, and though sometimes expensive were never oppressive. Such a state was indeed an independence compared with the degradation of a theow; and we probably see in these burghers the condition of the free part of the community, who were not actually freeholders of land, or who, though freed, had not wholly left the domestic service of their masters.

ONE of the most important trades of the Anglo-Saxons was the smith, who is very frequently mentioned. Aldhelm takes the trouble to describe the "convenience of the anvil, the rigid hardness of the beating hammer, and the tenacity of the glowing tongs," and to remark that "the gem-

¹⁰ These customs are excerpted by Gale out of Domesday-book. Hist. iii. p. 768.

¹¹ Domesday, fo. 2.

“ bearing belts, and diadems of kings, and various
 “ instruments of glory, were made from the tools
 “ of iron ^{C H A P. XI.}” The smiths who worked in iron
 were called *isern-smithas*. They had also the gold-
 smith, the *seolfersmith* (silversmith), and the arsmith
 or coppersmith. In the dialogues before quoted
 the smith says, “ Whence the share to the plough-
 “ man, or the goad, but from my art? whence to
 “ the fisherman an angle, or to the shoe *wyrhta* an
 “ awl, or to the sempstress a needle, but from my
 “ art?” The other replies, “ those in thy smithery
 “ only give us iron fire-sparks, the noise of beating
 “ hammers, and blowing bellows ¹³.” Smiths are
 frequently mentioned in *Doomsday*. In the city
 of *Hereford* there were six smiths, who paid each
 one penny for his forge, and who made one hun-
 dred and twenty pieces of iron from the king’s ore.
 To each of them three-pence was paid as a custom,
 and they were freed from all other services ¹⁴. In a
 district of *Somerset* it is twice stated, that a mill
 yielded two *plumbas* of iron ¹⁵. *Gloucester* paid
 to the king thirty-six *dicras* of iron, and one hun-
 dred ductile rods to make nails for the king’s
 ships ¹⁶.

THE *treow-wyrhta*, literally tree or wood-work-
 man, or, in modern phrase, the carpenter, was an
 occupation as important as the smith’s. In the
 dialogues above-mentioned he says, he makes houses,
 and various vessels and ships.

¹³ *Aldhelm de Laud. Virg.* 298.

¹⁴ *MS. Tib. A. 3.* ¹⁵ *Doomsday-book*, in loc.

¹⁶ *Doomsday-book*, fo. 94. ¹⁷ *Ibid.* in loc.

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II.

THE shoemaker and falter appear also in the dialogues: the sceowyrhta, or shoemaker, seems to have been a comprehensive trade, and to have united some that are now very distinct businesses. He says, "My craft is very useful and necessary to you. I buy hides and skins, and prepare them by my art, and make of them shoes of various kinds and none of you can winter without my craft." He subjoins a list of the articles which he fabricates: viz.

Swyftleras,	Bridle thongs,	Swurlethera,
Shoes,	Trappings,	Hælftra,
Leather hose,	Flasks,	Wallets,
Bottles,	Higdifatu,	Pouches.

THE falter, baker, cook, and fisherman, have been described before.

BESIDES the persons who made those trades their business, some of the clergy appear to us as labouring to excel in the mechanical arts. Thus Dunstan, besides being competent to draw and paint the patterns for a lady's robe, was also a smith, and worked on all the metals. Among other labours of his industry he made two great bells for the church at Abingdon. His friend Ethelwold, the Bishop, made two other bells for the same place of a smaller size, and a wheel full of small bells, much gilt, to be turned round for its music on feast days. He also displayed much art in the fabrication of a large silver table of curious workmanship¹⁷. Stigand, the bishop of Winchester, made two images and a crucifix, and gilt and placed them in the cathedral

¹⁷ Dugd. Mon. 1042

of his diocese¹⁸. One of our kings made a monk, ^{C H A P. XI.} who was a skilful goldsmith, an abbot¹⁹. It was even exacted by law that the clergy should pursue these occupations; for Edgar says, "We command that every priest, to increase knowledge, diligently learn some handicraft²⁰."

THE art of glass-making was unknown in England in the seventh century, when Benedict, the abbot of Weremouth, procured men from France, who not only glazed the windows of his church and monastery, but taught the Anglo-Saxons the art of making glass for windows, lamps, drinking vessels, and for other uses²¹. Our progress in the art was slow; for we find the disciple of Bede thus addressing a bishop of France on this subject in the next century: "If there be any man in your district who can make glass-vessels well, when time permits, condescend to send him to me; or if there is any one out of your diocese, in the power of others, I beg your fraternity will persuade him to come to us, for we are ignorant and helpless in this art; and if it should happen that any of the glass-makers should, by your diligence and with the divine pleasure, be suffered to come to us, be assured that if I am alive I will receive him with kind courtesy²²."

THE fortunate connection which Christianity established between the clergy of Europe favoured the advancement of all the mechanical arts. We

¹⁸ *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 293.

¹⁹ MS. Claud. C. 9.

²⁰ Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. 83.

²¹ Bede Hist. Abb. Wer. 225.

²² 16 Mag. Bib. Pat. 88.

B O O K read perpetually of presents of the productions of
 II. human labour and skill passing from the more civilized countries to those more rude. We read of a church having a patten made with Greek workmanship²³; and also of a bishop in England who was a Greek by birth²⁴.

THEY had the arts of weaving, embroidering, and dyeing. Aldhelm intimates these: "We do not negligently despise the woollen stamina of threads worked by the woof and the shuttles, even though the purple robe and the silken pomp of emperors shine." Again, "The shuttles not filled with purple only but with various colours, are moved here and there among the thick spreading of the threads, and by the embroidering art they adorn all the woven work with various groupes of images²⁵." Edward the Elder had his daughters taught to exercise their needle and their distaff²⁶. Indeed, the Anglo-Saxon ladies were so much accustomed to spinning, that just as we in legal phrase, and by a reference to former habits now obsolete, term unmarried ladies spinners, so Alfred in his will, with true application, called the female part of his family the spindle-side. The Norman historian remarks of our ancient countrywomen that they excelled with the needle and in gold embroidery²⁷. Aldhelm's robe is described to have been made of a most delicate thread of a

²³ Dugd. Mon. p. 40.

²⁴ 3 Gale X. Script. 464.

²⁵ Aldhelm de Laud. Virg. 298. 305. he also mentions the *fucorum muneribus*. ib.

²⁶ Malmsh. lib. ii. c. 5. p. 47.

²⁷ Gesta Norman. ap. Du Chesne, 211.

purple ground, and that within black circles the figures of peacocks were worked among them of ample size²⁸. C H A P.
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THE external commerce of these ancient times was confined, because their imperfect civilization, and the poverty of the great body of their population, prevented an extensive demand for foreign commodities. But the habit of visiting distant parts for the purposes of traffic had already begun. Ohther's voyage proves, that men went to the north, both for the purposes of traffick and of discovery: he says, they pursued whales for their teeth, and made ropes of their hides²⁹. We read of merchants from Ireland landing at Cambridge with cloths, and exposing their merchandize to sale³⁰. London, even in the seventh century, is mentioned as a port which ships frequented³¹, and we find merchants' ships sailing to Rome³². The trading vessels sometimes joined together, and went out armed for their mutual protection³³; and we may suppose that while piracy lasted, the navigation was unfrequent.

In the Saxon dialogues the merchant (*mançgære*) is introduced: "I say that I am useful to the
" king, and to ealdormen, and to the rich, and to
" all people. I ascend my ship with my merchandize, and sail over the sea-like places, and sell
" my things, and buy dear things which are not
" produced in this land, and I bring them to you

²⁸ 3 Gale X. Script. 351.

²⁹ See second volume of this history, p. 289.

³⁰ 3 Gale, 482.

³¹ Dugd. Mon. 76.

³² Bede, 294.

³³ Hist. Wilkin.

B O O K II. " here with great danger over the sea, and sometimes I suffer shipwreck, with the loss of all my things, scarcely escaping myself." " What do you bring to us ?" " Skins, filks, costly gems, and gold ; various garments, pigment, wine, oil, ivory and orichalcus, copper and tin, silver, glass, and such-like." " Will you sell your things here as you bought them there ?" " I will not, because what would my labour benefit me. I will sell them here dearer than I bought them there, that I may get some profit to feed me, my wife, and children ³⁴."

THAT public markets were established in various parts of England in this period we learn from many documents. It is clear from Domesday-book that these markets paid a toll. In Bedfordshire a toll de Mercato is mentioned, which yielded seven pounds. The market at Taunton paid fifty shillings ³⁵. A market was established at Peterborough with the privilege that no other was to be allowed within certain limits in its vicinity ³⁶.

We shall state concisely a few customs as to our commercial navigation. At Chester, if ships should come there, or depart from it, without the king's leave, the king and comes were to have forty shillings for every man in the ship. If they came in violation of the king's peace, or against his prohibition, the ships' mariners and their property, were forfeited to the king and comes. With the royal permission they might sell quietly what they had brought, but they were to pay to the king and his

³⁴ MS. Tib. A. 3.

³⁵ Domesday in loc.

³⁶ Ingulf. 46.

comes four-pence for every lesth. If the king's go- C H A P.
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vernors should order those having the skins of martins not to sell them before he had seen them, none were to disobey him under a penalty of forty shillings. This port yielded forty-five pounds, and three timbres of martin skins. In the same place false measure incurred a fine of four shillings, and for bad ale the offender paid as such, or else was placed on a dunghill ³⁷.

AT Southwark no one took any toll on the strand, or the water, but the king. At Arundel a particular person is named who took the custom paid by foreigners ³⁸. At Canterbury a prepositus is stated to have taken the custom from foreign merchants in certain lands there, which another ought to have received. At Lewes it is mentioned, that whoever either bought or sold, gave the governor a piece of money ³⁹.

PARTICULAR laws were made by the Anglo-Saxon government to regulate the manner of buying and selling. These laws had two objects in view : to prevent or detect theft, and to secure the due payment of the tax or toll which became due on such occasions ⁴⁰.

IN the ninth and tenth centuries the northmen were very enterprising in their navigation. They

³⁷ Doomsday in loc.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Several facts concerning the commerce of our ancestors have been occasionally mentioned in the preceding volumes, as the intercourse between Offa and Charlemagne, Ochter's voyage, Alfred's embassy to India, Æthelstan's connections with Europe, and Canute's letter, explaining the business which he had transacted with the Pope.

B O O K discovered Iceland and Greenland, and a more distant country which they called Vinland, and which has been considered to have been some part of the North American continent ⁴¹.

A REMARK may be added on their travelling and hospitality. It would seem that they travelled armed. We read of one journeying with his horse and spear; when he alighted he gave his spear to his attendants ⁴².

THEIR hospitality was kind: on the arrival of a stranger he was welcomed; they brought him water to wash his hands; they washed his feet, and for this purpose warm water was used; they wiped them with a cloth, and the host in one case cherished them in his bosom. We also read of warm wine administered to the new guest ⁴³.

HOSPITALITY was, however, dangerous in some degree from its responsibility: if any one entertained a guest (cuman, literally a come-one) three nights in his own house, whether a trader, or any other person that had come over the boundary, and fed him with victuals, and the guest did any thing wrong, the host was to bring him to justice, or to answer for it ⁴⁴. By another law, a guest, after two nights' residence, was reckoned part of

⁴¹ One of the voyages may be seen in Snorre, tom. i. p. 303. 308. Torfæus has discussed this subject in a book on Vinland. Mallet has given an interesting chapter on the maritime discoveries of the northmen, in his Northern Antiquities, vol. i. c. 11. p. 268. of the translation edited by Dr. Percy.

⁴² Bede, p. 243.

⁴³ Ibid. p. 234. 251. 257.

⁴⁴ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 9.

the family, and the owner of it was to be answer-
able for his actions⁴⁵.

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If a thorn man travelled steorless, or vagrantly, hospitality might be given to him once, but he was to have leave of absence before he could be longer maintained⁴⁶.

TRAVELLING was attended with some penal regulations: if a stranger in any part went out of the road, or through woods, it was a law that he should either shout aloud, or blow with a horn, on pain of being deemed a thief, and suffering as such⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 18.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 4.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 12.

CHAP. XII.

Their Money.

BOOK
II.

THE payments mentioned in Doomsday-book are stated in pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings, exactly as our pecuniary calculations are made. Twenty shillings constitute a pound, and a shilling is composed of twelve pence. The same computation occurs elsewhere. Elfric, in his translation of Exodus, c. xxi. v. 10. adds of his own authority, "They are twelve scyllinga of twelve pennies;" and in the monies mentioned in the *Historia Eliensis*, edited by Gale, we find numerous passages which ascertain that a pound consisted of twenty shillings. I will refer to a few: three hides were sold by a lady to an abbot for a hundred shillings each. The owner is afterwards said to have come to receive the fifteen pounds. When seven pounds and a half only had been paid, the ealdorman asked the abbot to give the lady more of her purchase-money. At his request the abbot gave thirty shillings more; thus, it is added, he paid her nine pounds¹. On another occasion the money agreed for was thirty pounds. One hundred shillings were received, and twenty-five pounds were declared to remain due².

THE Saxon money was sometimes reckoned by pennies, as the French money is now by livres.

¹ 3 Gale X. Script. p. 473.

² Ibid. 477, and see 485. 488.

Thus, in one charta, three plough-lands are conveyed for three thousand pennies. In another, eighty acres were bought for three hundred and eighty-five pennies. In another, one thousand four hundred and fifty pennies occur ³.

THE name for money which is ofteneft met with in the charters is the mancus. On this money we have one curious paffage of Elfric: he fays, five pennies make one fhilling, and thirty pennies one mancus ⁴. This would make the mancus fix fhillings. The paffage in the laws of Henry the Firft intimates the fame ⁵. Two paffages in the Anglo-Saxon laws feem to confirm Elfric's account of the mancus being thirty pennies; for an ox is valued at a mancus in one, and at thirty pence in another ⁶.

BUT there is an apparent contradiction in five pennies making a fhilling, if twelve pennies amounted to the fame fum. The objection would be unanswerable, but that, by the laws of Alfred, it is clear that there were two forts of pennies, the greater and the lefs; for the violation of a man's borg was to be compensated by five pounds, mærra peninga, of the *larger* pennies ⁷.

THE marc is fometimes mentioned; this was half a pound according to the authors cited by

³ MS. Chartas of the late Mr. Aftle, No. 7. No. 22. No. 28,

⁴ Hicke's Diff. Ep. 109.

⁵ Debent reddi fecundum legem triginta folidi ad Manbotam, id eft, hodie 5 mancæ. Wilk. p. 265. So p. 249.

⁶ Wilk. p. 66, and 126. Yet this paffage is not decifive, becaufe the other accompanying valuations do not correfpond.

⁷ Ibid. 35.

BOOK Du Fresne^{*}; it is stated to be eight ounces by
 11. Aventinus^o.

THE money mentioned in our earliest law consists of shillings, and a minor sum called scætta. In the laws of Ina the pening occurs, and the pund as a weight. In those of Alfred the pund appears as a quantity of money, as well as the shilling and the penny, but the shilling is the usual notation of his pecuniary punishments. In his treaty with the Danes the half mark of gold and the mancus are the names of the money, as is the ora in the Danish compact with Edward. In the laws of Ethelstan we find the thrymsa, as well as the shilling and the penny; the scætta and the pund. The shilling, the penny, and the pound, appear under Edgar. The ora and the healf-marc pervade the Northumbrian laws. In the time of Ethelred the pound is frequently the amount of the money noticed. The shilling and penny, the healf-marc and the ora, also occur¹⁰.

THE Anglo-Saxon wills that have survived to us mention the following money: In the archbishop Ælfric's will we find five pundum, and fifty mancusan of gold¹¹. In Wynflæd's will the mancæs of gold, the pund, the healfes pundes wyrthne, and sixty pennega wyrth, are noticed. In one part she desires that there should be put in a cup which she bequeaths, healf pund penega, or half a pound of pennies. In another part she men-

^{*} Du Fresne Gloss. ii. p. 437.

^o Ann. Boi. lib. vi. p. 524.

¹⁰ See Wilkins Leges Anglo-Sax. passim.

¹¹ M.S. Cott. Claud. B. vi. p. 103.

tions sixteen mancufum of red gold; also thirty penega wyrth ¹². C H A P.
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IN Thurstan's will twelf pund be getale occurs. In Godric's we perceive a mark of gold, thirteen pounds and sixty-three pennies ¹³. In Byrhtic's will sixty mancos of gold and thirty mancys goldes are mentioned; and several things are noticed, as of the value of so many gold mancus. Thus, a bracelet of eighty mancysan goldes, and a necklace of forty mancysa; a hand secs of three pounds is, also bequeathed, and ten hund penega ¹⁴.

IN Wulfar's will the mancus of gold is applied in the same way to mark the value of the things bequeathed, and also to express money ¹⁵. The mancus of gold is the money given in Elfhelm's will; in Dux Ælfred's, pennies; in Æthelwyrð, both pennies and the pund occur. In Æthelstan's testament we find the mancofa of gold, the pund of silver, the pund be getale, and pennies ¹⁶.

IN the charters we find pennies, mancusa, pounds, shillings, and sicli mentioned. In one we find one hundred sicli of the purest gold ¹⁷, and in another four hundred sicli in pure silver ¹⁸. In a third, fifteen hundred of shillings in silver are mentioned, as if the same with fifteen hundred sicli ¹⁹. The shilling also at another time appears as if connected with gold, as seventy shillings of auri obrizi ²⁰.

¹² Hickes Gram. Præf.

¹³ Hickes Diff. Ep. 29, 30.

¹⁴ Hickes Diff. Ep. p. 51.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Sax. Dict. App.

¹⁷ The late Mr. Aske's MS. Charters, No. 10.

¹⁸ App. to Bede, p. 770.

¹⁹ MS. Claud. C. 9.

²⁰ Mr. Aske's Charters, No. 28. b.

BOOK II. Once we have two pounds of the purest gold²¹.
 The expressions of pure gold, or the purest gold, are often added to the mancos.

THAT the pound was used as an imaginary value of money is undoubted. One grant says, that an abbot gave in money quod valuit, what was of the value of one hundred and twenty pounds²². Another has four pound of lic-wyrthes feos²³, which means money or property agreeable to the party receiving it. We read also of fifteen pounds of silver, gold, and chattles²⁴; also sixty pounds in pure gold and silver²⁵. Sometimes the expression occurs, which we still use in our deeds, "One hundred pounds of *lawful money*"²⁶.

As no Anglo-Saxon gold coins have reached modern times, though of their silver coinage we have numerous specimens, it is presumed by antiquaries that none were ever made. Yet it is certain that they had plenty of gold, and it perpetually formed the medium of their purchases and gifts. My belief is, that gold was used in the concerns of life, in an uncoined state²⁷, and to such a species of gold money I would refer such passages at these: fifty "*mancussa sfodenes gold*," "*sexies viginti marcarum auri pondo*," "*appenfuram novem librarum purissimi auri juxta magnum pondus*" "*Normanorum*," "*eighty mancusa auri purissimi*

²¹ Mr. Aſle's Charters, No. 25.

²² MS. Claud. C. 9.

²³ Heming Chart. 180.

²⁴ 3 Gale, 410.

²⁵ Heming Chart. 8.

²⁶ Ingulf, p. 35.

²⁷ One coin has been adduced as a Saxon gold coin. See Pegge's Remains. But its pretensions have not been admitted.

"et sex pondus electi argenti," "duo uncias auri." CHAP.
XII.

I think that silver also was sometimes passed in an uncoined state from such intimations at these: "twa pund mere hwites seolfres," and the above-mentioned "sex pondus electi argenti." The expressions that pervade Doomsday-book imply, in my apprehension, these two species of money, the coined and the uncoined. Seventy libras pensatas, like two uncias auri, are obviously money by weight. But money ad numerum, or arsuram, I interpret to be coined money; also the pund be getale. The phrases sex libras ad pensum et arsuram et triginta libras arsas et pensatas, appear to me to express the indicated weight of coined money. The words arsas and arsuram I understand to allude to the assay of coin in the mint.

WHETHER the mancus was like the pund merely a weight and not a coin, and was applied to express, in the same manner as the word pound, a certain quantity of money, coined or uncoined, I cannot decide, but I incline to think, that it was not a coin. Indeed there is one passage which shews that it was a weight "duas bradiolas aureas fabrefactas quas pensarent xlv mancufas²⁸." I consider the two sorts of pennies as the only coins of the Anglo-Saxons above their copper coinage, and am induced to regard all their other denominations of money as weighed or settled quantities of uncoined metal²⁹.

²⁸ Heming. Chart. p. 86.

²⁹ It is the belief of an antiquarian friend, who has paid much attention to this subject, that even the Saxon scyllinga was a nominal coin; as he assures me no silver coin of that

BOOK
II.

THAT money was coined by the Anglo-Saxons in the octarchy, and in every reign afterwards, is clear from those which remain to us. Most of them have the mint-master's name. It does not appear to me certain, that they had coined money before their invasion of England, and conversion.

It was one of Ethelstan's laws, that there should be one coinage in all the king's districts, and that no mint should be outside the gate. If a coiner was found guilty of fraud, his hand was to be cut off, and fastened to the mint-smithery²⁰. In the time of Edgar the law was repeated that the king's coinage should be uniform; it was added, that no one should refuse it, and that it should measure like that of Winchester²¹. It has been mentioned of Edgar, that finding the value of the coin in his reign much diminished by the fraud of clipping, he had new coins made all over England.

WE may add a few particulars of the coin which occur in Domesday book. Sometimes a numeration is made very similar to our own, as L. 11 : 13 : 4. Sometimes pounds and sometimes shillings are mentioned by themselves. In other places, some of the following denominations are inserted :

Una marka argenti,
Tres markas auri,
Novem uncias auri,
c solidos et unam unciam auri,

value has been found which can be referred to the Saxon times.

²⁰ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 59.

²¹ Ibid. p. 78.

xxiv libras et unciam auri,
 xx libras et unam unciam auri, et un. marcum,
 xxv libras ad pond.
 l libras appretiatas,
 xiv libras arfas et pensatas, et v libras ad nume-
 rum,
 cvi libras arfas et pensatas, et x libras ad nume-
 rum,
 xxii libras de alb. denariis, ad pensum hujus co-
 mitis,
 xvi libras de albo argento.
 xlvii libras de albo argento xvi denariis minus,
 xxiii lib. denar. de xx in ora,
 xv lib. de xx in ora,
 iii solid. de den. xx in ora, et xxvi denar. ad nu-
 merum,
 v oris argenti,
 i denarium,
 i obolum,
 i quadrantem,
 viii libras et xx denar ³².

³² The meaning of arfas and arfuram, as applied to money, is explained in the black book of the exchequer, to be the *assay* of money. The money might be sufficient in number and weight, yet not in quality. It by no means followed that twenty shillings, which constituted a pound weight, was in fact a pound of silver, because copper or other metal might be intermixed when there was no examination. For this reason, the books say that the bishop of Salisbury instituted the arfura, in the reign of Henry the First. It is added, that if the examined money was found to be deficient above sixpence in the pound, it was not deemed lawful money of the king. Liber Niger Scacarii, cited by Du Cange, Gloss. i. p. 343. The bishop cannot, however, have invented the

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It seems reasonable to say, that such epithets as *purissimi auri*, and *æfodenes gold*, that is, melted gold, refer to money paid and melted.

BUT if the Saxon silver coins were only the larger and smaller pennies, what then was the *scyllinga*? In the translation of Genesis, the word is applied to express the Hebrew *shekels*³³. In the New Testament thirty pieces of silver which the Gothic translates by the word *slanþkin*, or silver, the Saxon version calls *scyllinga*³⁴. The etymology of the word *scyllinga* would lead us to suppose it to have been a certain quantity of uncoined silver; for whether we derive it from *ꝛcylan* to divide, or *ꝛceale*, a scale, the idea presented to us by either word is the same; that is, so much silver cut off, as in China, and weighing so much.

arfura in the reign of Henry, because *Domesday-book* shews that it was known in the time of the Conqueror. In *Domesday-book* it appears that the king had this right of assay only in a few places. Perhaps the bishop, in a subsequent reign, extended it to all money paid into the exchequer.

An intelligent friend has favoured me with the following extract from *Domesday*: "*Totum manerium T. R. E. et post valuit xl libras. Modo similiter xl lib. Tamen reddit 1 lib. ad arfuram et pensum, quæ valent lxx lib.*" *Domesday*, vol. i. fo. 15. b. This passage seems to express, that L. 65 of coined money was only worth L. 50 in pure silver, according to the assay of the mint. Whether this depreciation of the coin existed in the Saxon times, or whether it followed from the disorders and exactions of the Norman conquest, I have not ascertained.

³³ See Genesis, in Thwaite's *Heptateuch*.

³⁴ Matthew, xxvii. 3.

I WOULD therefore presume the scyllinga to have been a quantity of silver, which, when coined, yielded, five of the larger pennies, and twelve of the smaller. C H A P.
XII.

THE Saxon word *scætt* or *sceat*, which occurs in the earliest laws as a small definite quantity of money, is mostly used to express money generally. I would derive it from *preat*, a part or division; and I think it meant a definite piece of metal originally in the uncoined state. The *sceat* and the *scyllinga* seem to have been the names of the Saxon money in the Pagan times, before the Roman and French ecclesiastics had taught them the art of coining.

THE value of the *scætt* in the time of Æthelbert would appear, from one sort of reasoning, to have been the twentieth part of a shilling. His laws enjoin a penalty of twenty *scyllinga* for the loss of the thumb, and three *scyllinga* for the thumb-nail. It is afterwards declared that the loss of the great toe is to be compensated by ten *scyllinga*, and the other toes by half the price of the fingers. It is immediately added, that for the nail of the great toe thirty *sceatta* must be paid to bot³⁵.

Now as the legislator expresses that he is estimating the toes at half the value of the fingers, and shews that he does so in fixing the compensation of the thumb and the great toe, we may infer, that his thirty *sceattas* for the nail of the great toe were meant to be equal to half of the three *scyllinga* which was exacted for the thumb-nail. According to this reasoning, twenty *sceatta* equalled one *scyllinga*.

³⁵ Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 6.

B' O O K

II.

ABOUT three centuries later, the *scætta* appears somewhat raised in value, and to be like one of the smaller pennies; for the laws of *Æthelstan* declare thirty thousand *scætta* to be *cxx punda* ³⁶. This gives two hundred and fifty *sceatta* to a pound, or twelve and an half to a *scyllinga*. Perhaps, therefore, the *sceat* was the smaller penny, and the *pening*, properly so called, was the larger one.

WE may be curious to enquire into the etymology of the *pening*. The word occurs for coin in many countries. In the Franco-theotic, it occurs in *Otfrid* as *Pfening* ³⁷; and on the continent one gold *pfenning* was declared to be worth ten silver *pfennig* ³⁸. It occurs in Icelandic, in the ancient *Edda*, as *penning* ³⁹.

THE Danes still use *penge*, as their term for money or coin; and if we consider the Saxon *penig* as their only silver coin, we may derive the word from the verb *punian*, to beat or knock, which may be deemed a term applied to metal coined, similar to the Latin *cudere* ⁴⁰.

THAT the Anglo-Saxons did not use coined money before the Roman ecclesiastics introduced the custom, is an idea somewhat warranted by the expression they applied to coin. This was *mynet*,

³⁶ Wilkins, *Leg. Anglo-Sax.* p. 72.

³⁷ It is used by *Otfrid*, l. 3. c. 14. p. 188.

³⁸ I. Alem. prov. c. 299. cited by Schilter in his *Glossary*, p. 657.

³⁹ *Ægis drecka*, ap. *Edda Sæmundi*, p. 168.

⁴⁰ Schilter has quoted an author who gives a similar etymology from another language, "*Pænings nomine pecunia tantum numerata significat, a pænā, quod est cudere, sig. 'nare.'*" *Gloss. Teut.* p. 657.

a coin, and from this, mynetian, to coin, and mynetere, a person coining. These words are obviously the Latin moneta and monetarius; and it usually happens that when one nation borrows such a term from another, they are indebted to the same source for the knowledge of the thing which it designates.

C H A' P.
XII.

AN expression of Bede once induced me to doubt if it did not imply a Saxon gold coin. He says that a lady, foretelling her death, described that she was addressed in a vision by some men, who said to her, that they were come to take with them the aureum numisma (meaning herself) which had come thither out of Kent. This complimentary trope Alfred translates by the expressions, gyldene mynet ⁴¹.

THE passage certainly proves that both Bede and Alfred knew of gold coins; and it certainly can be hardly doubted, that when gold coins circulated in other parts of Europe, some from the different countries would find their way into England. The use of the word aureos, in the *Historia Eliensis*, implies gold coin ⁴²; and that coins called aurei were circulated in Europe, is clear from the journal of the monks who travelled from Italy to Egypt in the ninth or tenth century. In this they mention that the master of the ship they sailed in charged them six aureos for their passage ⁴³. But whether these aurei were those coined at Rome or Constantinople, or were the coins of Germany or France, or England

⁴¹ Bede, l. 3. c. 8. and Transl. p. 531.

⁴² L aureos, p. 485. x aureos, ib. Lxxx aureis, p. 484. c aureos, p. 486.

⁴³ See second volume of this history, p. 364.

B O O K II. really issued similar ones from its mint, no authority, yet known, warrants us to decide.

THAT the pennies of different countries varied in value is proved by the same journal. Bernard, its author, affirms that it was then the custom of Alexandria to take money by weight, and that six of the solidi and denarii, which they took with them, weighed only three of those at Alexandria ⁴⁴.

THE silver penny was afterwards called, in the Norman times, an esterling, or sterling; but the time when the word began to be applied to money is not known ⁴⁵.

THERE has been a variety of opinions about the value of the Saxon pound ⁴⁶. We have proof, from Domesday, that in the time of the Confessor it consisted of twenty solidi or shillings. But Dr Hickee contends that the Saxon pound consisted of sixty shillings ⁴⁷, because, by the Saxon law in Mercia, the king's were gild was one hundred and twenty pounds, and amounted to the same as six thegns, whose were was twelve hundred shillings each ⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ See second volume of this history, p. 364.

⁴⁵ The laws of Edward I. order the penny of England to be round, without clipping, and to weigh thirty-two grains of wheat, in the middle of the ear. Twenty of these were to make an ounce, and twelve ounces a pound. *Spelm Gloss.* p. 241.

⁴⁶ The Welsh laws of Hoel dda used punt or pund to mark their money; for their other money, that have the term arian, which means literally silver, and ceiniawg, both these seem to imply a penny. See Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*, p. 16, 20, 21, 27. Their word for a coin is bath.

⁴⁷ Hickee's *Dissert. Ep.* p. 111.

⁴⁸ Wilkins, *Leg. Anglo-Sax.* p. 72.

And certainly this passage has the force of declaring that the king's were was seven thousand two hundred shillings, and that these were equivalent to one hundred and twenty pounds; and according to this passage, the pound in Mercia contained sixty shillings. Other authors⁴⁹ assert that the pound had but forty-eight shillings.

C. H. A. P.
XII.

WE have mentioned that a scyllinga or shilling consisted of five greater pennies, or of twelve smaller ones. But in the time of the Conqueror the English shilling had but four pennies: "15 solz de solt Engleis co est quer deners"⁵⁰. This passage occurs in the Conqueror's laws. It has been ingeniously attempted to reconcile these contradictions, by supposing that the value of the shilling was that which varied, and that the pound contained sixty shillings of four pennies in a shilling, or forty-eight shillings of five pennies in a shilling⁵¹. To which we may add, twenty shillings of twelve pence in a shilling. These different figures, respectively multiplied together, give the same amount of two hundred and forty pennies in a pound. Yet though this supposition is plausible, it cannot be true, if the shilling was only a nominal sum, like the pound, because such variations as these attach to coined money, and not the terms merely used in numeration.

⁴⁹ As Camden, Spelman, and Fleetwood.

⁵⁰ Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 221. In the copy of these laws in Ingulf, p. 89. the expression is quer *bener* deners, or four better pennies.

⁵¹ Clarke's preface to Wotton's Leges Wallicæ.

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II.

THE styca, the hælſing, and the feorþling are also mentioned. The styca and feorþling are mentioned in a passage in Mark. "The poor widow" "threw in two stycas, that is, feorþling peninges, "or the fourth part of a penny ⁵²." The hælſing occurs in Luke: "Are not two sparrows sold for "a hælſinge ⁵³?" We cannot doubt that these were copper monies.

THE thrymsa is reckoned by Hickes to be the third part of a shilling, or fourpence ⁵⁴. Yet the passage which makes the king's were thirty thousand sceatta, compared with the other, which reckons it as thirty thousand thrymsa ⁵⁵, seems to express that the thrymsa and the sceatta were the same.

ON this dark subject of the Anglo Saxon coinage, we must however confess, that the clouds which have long surrounded it have not yet been removed. The passages in Alfred's and in the Conqueror's laws imply that there were two sorts of pennies, the mærra or bener pennies, and the smaller ones. We have many Anglo-Saxon silver coins of these species; but no others.

SOME ecclesiastical persons, as well as the king, and several places, had the privilege of coining. In the laws of Ethelstan, the places of the mints in his reign are thus enumerated:

"IN Canterbury there are seven myneteras; four of the king's, two of the bishops', and one of the abbot's.

⁵² Mark, chap. xii. 42.

⁵³ Luke, chap. xii. 6.

⁵⁴ Hickes Diff. Ep.

⁵⁵ Wilkins Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 72. and p. 71.

" In Rochester there are three; two of the king, and one of the bishop. C H A P.
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" In London eight,
 " In Winchester six,
 " In Lewes two,
 " In Hastings one,
 " Another in Chichester,
 " In Hampton two,
 " In Wareham two,
 " In Exeter two,
 " In Shatterbury two,
 " Elsewhere one in every burg ⁵⁶."

In Domesday book we find these monetarii mentioned:

Two at Dorchester,
 One at Bridport,
 Two at Wareham,
 Three at Shaftesbury.

Each of these gave to the king twenty shillings and one mark of silver when money was coined.

THE monetarii at Lewes paid twenty shillings each.

ONE Suetman is mentioned as a monetarius in Oxford.

AT Worcester, when money was coined, each gave to London fifteen shillings for cuneis to receive the money.

AT Hereford there were seven monetarii, of whom one was the bishop. When money was renewed, each gave eighteen shillings, pro cuneis recipiendis; and for one month from the day in

⁵⁶ Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 59.

B O O K which they returned, each gave the king twenty

II. shillings, and the bishop had the same of his man.

When the king went into the city, the monetarii were to make as many pennies of his silver as he pleased. The seven in this city had their sack and sock. When the king's monetarius died, the king had his heriot; and if he died without dividing his estate, the king had all.

HUNTINGDON had three monetarii, rendering thirty shillings between the king and comes.

IN Shrewsbury the king had three monetarii, who, after they had bought the cuneos monetæ, as other monetarii of the country, on the fifteenth day gave to the king twenty shillings each; and this was done when the money was coining.

THERE was a monetarius at Colchester.

AT Chester there were seven monetarii, who gave to the king and comes seven pounds extra firmam, when money was turned ⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ For these, see Domesday book, under the different places.

C H A P. XIII.

Their Chivalry.

THERE is no evidence that the refined and enthusiastic spirit of gallantry, which accompanied chivalry in its perfect stage, prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons : but that chivalry, in a less polished form, and considered as a military investiture, conferred with religious ceremonies, by putting on the belt and sword, and giving the knight a peculiar dignity among his countrymen ;—that this kind of chivalry existed in England before the Norman conquest, the authorities adduced in this chapter will perhaps ascertain.

C H A P.
XIII.

IN the reign of Edward the Confessor, Hereward, a noble Anglo-Saxon youth, distinguished himself by his daring valour and eccentricity. As his character is highly romantic, and affords a remarkable instance of the Anglo-Saxon chivalry, I will state the main incidents of his life, from the plain and temperate narration of his contemporary, who was the Conqueror's secretary.

“ His father was Leofric, lord of Brunne in Lincolnshire, a nobleman who had become very illustrious for his warlike exploits. He was a relation of the great earl of Herford, who had married the king's sister.

HERWARD was the son of this Leofric and his wife Ediva. He was tall and handsome, but too warlike, and of an immoderate fierceness of mind.

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In his juvenile plays and wrestlings, he was so ungovernable, that his hand was often raised against every one, and every one's hand against him. When the youths of his age went to wrestling and such other sports, unless he triumphed over all, and his playfellows conceded to him the laurel of victory, he very often extorted by his sword what he could not gain by his muscular strength.

THE youths of his neighbourhood complaining of this conduct, his father's anger was excited against him. Leofric stated to King Edward the many intolerable tricks that had been practised even upon himself, and his excessive violence towards others. Upon this representation, the Confessor ordered him into banishment.

HEREWARD, thus exiled, went fearlessly to Northumbria, thence to Cornwall, thence to Ireland, and afterwards to Flanders; and everywhere most bravely carrying himself, he soon obtained a glorious and magnificent reputation.

In every danger intrepidly pressing forward and happily escaping; in every military conflict always throwing himself on the bravest, and boldly conquering, it was doubtful whether he was more fortunate or brave. His victories over all his enemies were complete, and he escaped harmless from the greatest battles.

BECOMING so illustrious by his military successes, his valiant deeds became known in England, and were sung through the country. The dislike of his parent, relatives, and friends, was changed into the most ardent affection.

IN Flanders he married a noble lady, Turfrida, ^{CH A.P. XII.} and had by her a daughter, who lately married (I am transcribing Ingulf) an illustrious knight, a great friend to our monastery, and lord of Depyng and the paternal inheritance of Brunne and its appurtenances.

THE mother of Turfrida coming to England with her husband, with his permission forsook all earthly pomp, and became a nun in our monastery of Croyland.

HEREWARD returning to his native soil with his wife, after great battles, and a thousand dangers frequently dared and bravely terminated, as well against the king of England, as the earls, barons, prefects, and presidents, which are yet sang in our streets (says Ingulf), and having avenged his mother with his powerful right hand, at length, with the king's pardon, obtained his paternal inheritance, and ended his days in peace, and was very lately buried near his wife in our monastery."

IT is obvious, from the connection of this singular character with Croyland monastery, that no one could furnish us with more authentic particulars of him than Ingulf, who lived at the time, and was a monk in the same place. I will add a few more circumstances, which the writer has recorded concerning him.

IT was in Flanders that Hereward heard that the Normans had conquered England; that his father was dead; that the Conqueror had given his inheritance to a Norman; and that his mother's widow-

¹ Ingulf, p. 67, 68.

BOOK hood was afflicted by many injuries and distresses.

II. Transported with grief at the account, he hastened with his wife to England, and collecting a body of her relations, he thundered on the oppressors of his mother, and drove them from her territory.

AT this period of the narration, the important passage² occurs, which gives such complete evidence to the Anglo-Saxon chivalry.

“CONSIDERING then that he was at the head of
 “very brave men, and commanded some *milites*,
 “and had not yet been legally bound with the belt,
 “according to the military custom, he took with
 “him a very few tyros of his cohort, to be legiti-
 “mately confociated with himself to warfare, and
 “went to his uncle, the abbot of Peterborough, named
 “Brand, a very religious man (as I have heard from
 “my predecessor, my lord Ulketul, abbot, and ma-
 “ny others), much given to charity, and adorned
 “with all the virtues; and having first of all made
 “a confession of his sins, and received absolution, he
 “very urgently prayed that he might be made a
 “legitimate *miles*. For it was the custom of the
 “English, that every one that was to be consecrated
 “to the legitimate militia, should, on the evening
 “preceding the day of his consecration, with con-
 “trition and compunction, make a confession of all
 “his sins to a bishop, an abbot, a monk, or some
 “priest; and, devoted wholly to prayers, devotions,
 “and mortifications, should pass the night in the
 “church; in the next morning should hear mass,
 “should offer his sword on the altar, and after the

² Ingulf, p. 70.

“ Gospel had been read, the priest having blessed ^{C H A. P. XIII.}
 “ the sword, should place it on the neck of the mi-
 “ les, with his benediction. Having communicated
 “ at the same mass with the sacred mysteries, he
 “ would afterwards remain a legitimate miles.” He
 adds, this custom of consecrating a miles the Nor-
 mans regarded as abomination, and did not hold
 such a one a legitimate miles, but reckoned him a
 slothful equitem and degenerate quiritem.

FROM the preceding account we collect these things,

1st, THAT a man might take up arms, head warriors, fight with them, and gain much military celebrity, and yet not thereby become a legitimate miles.

2d, THAT he could not reputably head milites, without being a legitimate miles.

3d, THAT to be a legitimate miles was an honorary distinction, worthy the ambition of a man who had previously been of such great military celebrity as Hereward.

4th, THAT to be a miles, an express ceremony of consecration was requisite.

5th, THAT the ceremony consisted of a confession and absolution of sins, on the day preceding the consecration; of watching in the church, all the previous night, with prayers and humiliations; of hearing mass next morning; of offering his sword on the altar, of its being blessed by the priest, of its being then placed on his neck; and of his afterwards communicating. He was then declared a legitimate miles.

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6th, THE mode above described was the Anglo-Saxon mode; but there was another mode then in existence: for it is expressly mentioned, that the Normans did not use, but detested, the custom of religious consecration.

7th, THAT a legitimate miles was invested with a belt and a sword.

ANOTHER passage which alludes to the Anglo-Saxon chivalry, is in Malmfbury, in which he expressly declares, that Alfred made Athelstan a miles. He says that Alfred seeing Athelstan to be an elegant youth, prematurely made him a miles, investing him with a purple garment, a belt set with gems, and a Saxon sword, with a golden sheath ³.

THE investiture of the belt, alluded to in the account of Hereward, and in Malmfbury's account of Athelstan's knighthood, is also mentioned by Ingulf, on another occasion. Speaking of the famous Saxon chancellor Turketul, who died in 975, he says that he had, among other relics, the thumb of St. Bartholemew, with which he used to cross himself in danger, tempest, and lightning. A dux Beneventanus gave this to the emperor, when he girded him with the first military belt ⁴. The emperor gave it to the chancellor. An author who died in 1004 says, "Whoever uses the belt of his knight-hood (*militiæ*), is considered as a knight (*miles*) of his dignity ⁵."

THAT there was a military dignity among the Saxons, which they who wrote in Latin expressed

³ Malmfbury, p. 49.

⁴ Ingulf, p. 51.

⁵ Abb. Flor. in Can. c. 51. *Quisquis militiæ suæ cingulo utitur, dignitatis suæ miles adscribitur.*

by the term Miles, is, I think, very clear, from other numerous passages. There are many grants of kings and others extant to their militibus. Thus Edred, "cuidam meo ministro ac militi," "meo "fidei ministro ac militi," "cuidam meo militi." The word miles cannot here mean simply a soldier. So to many charters we find the signatures of several noblemen characterized by this title⁷. Bede frequently uses the term in passages and with connections which shew that he meant to express dignity by it. We are at least certain that his Anglo-Saxon translator believed this, because he has always interpreted the expression, when it has this signification, by a Saxon word of peculiar dignity⁸. Ingulf mentions several great men, in the Anglo-Saxon times, with the addition of miles, as an augmentation of their consequence; and once introduces a king styling a miles his magister⁹. Doomsday book mentions several milites as holding lands.

⁶ MS. Claud. B. 6. So an archbishop gives land; Heming: Chart. 191, 210, 234.

⁷ To a charta of Edward Confessor, five sign with the addition of Miles. MS. Claud. B. 6. Eleven sign with Miles to a charta of Ethelwulph. Text. Roff.

⁸ Bede.

Alfred.

alium de militibus,	othérne cyniñges thegn,
cum his—militibus,	mid his thegnum,
milite sibi fidelissimo,	his thegne—getreoweste,
prefato milite,	foresprece nan his thegne,
comitibus ac militibus,	his geforum, cyniñges thegnum.
de militia ejus juvenis,	fum geong thos cyniñges thegn.

p. 511, 525, 539, 551, 590.

⁹ Ingulf, p. 6, 14, 20, 25, 63. This use of the word miles is one of Hickes' reasons for his attack on Ingulf; an attack which I think ill founded. I feel every gratitude to Hickes

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BUT although the Anglo-Saxons had a military dignity, which their Latin writers called *Miles*, I do not think that the word *cniht* was applied by them to express it.

It has been shewn, in the chapter on their infancy and education, that a youth was called a *cniht*. By the same term they also denoted an attendant¹⁰. In *Cedmon* it occurs a few times; but it seems to have been used to mean youths. Speaking of *Nabochodonosor*, he says,

He commanded his *Gerefas*,
out of the miserable relics of the *Israelites*,
to seek some of the youth
that were most skilled
in the instruction of books.
He would, that the *cnihtas*
should learn the craft
to interpret dreams¹¹.

Then they there found
for their sagacious lord
noble *cnihtas*¹².

SPEAKING of the adoration of the image of *Dara*,
he says,

The *cnihtas* of a good race
acted with discretion,
that they the idol
would not as their god
hold and have¹³.

for his labours on the northern languages; but I cannot conceal that I think him mistaken on several very important points of the Saxon antiquities.

¹⁰ *Gen.* xxi. 65. *Luke*, vii. 7, and xii. 45.

¹² *Cedmon*, p. 77.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 79.

Then was wrath
the king in his mind.
He commanded an oven to heat
to the destruction of the lives of the cnihtas ⁴.



The word has no military distinction in these passages.

ÆLFRIC, in his glossary, interprets cniht-had by pueritia, pubes; and to oth cniht-hade he puts pube tenus.

THERE are however instances of grants to cnihtas, which would induce a suspicion, that the word was gradually advancing from the expression of a youth or an attendant, to signify a more dignified sort of dependant. A Saxon will has, "Let men give my cnihtas and my stewardas witas forty punda." Ælfhelm in his will says, "I give to my wife and my daughter half the land at Cunnington, to be divided, except the four hides that I give to Æthelric and Alfwold, and the half hide that I give to Osmær my cniht." Æthelstan Ætheling in his will expresses, "I give my father, King Æthelræd, the land at Cealhtun, except the eight hides that I have given to Ælmor my cniht." "And I give to Æthelwin my cniht, the sword that he before gave me ⁵." There are three grants of land from Oswald Archbishop to cnihts; and it is important to observe he does not call them his cnihts, or any other person's cnihts, but he calls them sumum cnihte, some cniht, or a cniht, as if cniht had been a definite and well-known character.

⁴ Cedmon, p. 80.

⁵ See these wills in the appendix to the Saxon dictionary.

B O O K His words are, "One hide at Hymeltun to fumum
 fl. "cniht, whose name is Wulfgeat;" "two hides,
 "all but sixty acres, to fumum cniht, whose name
 "is Æthelwold;" "—— hides to fumum cniht,
 "whose name is Osulf, for God's love, and for our
 "peace ¹⁶."

In the admonitions to different orders of men, printed with the Anglo-Saxon laws, there is a passage which gives cniht and cnihthood in a meaning rather different from those which have been stated. "That will be a rightlike life, that a cniht continues
 "in his cnihtade till he marries rightly a maiden
 "wife, and haves her then afterwards, and no other
 "while she lives ¹⁷." Cnihtade here implies chastity.

PERHAPS cniht originally signified a boy, afterwards a servant who was not a slave. It may have been then applied to denote a military attendant; and in this sense it gradually superseded the word thegn, which I think was the Saxon term for the dignity implied by the term miles. A knight, even in the full chivalric meaning, was a military servant of somebody, either of the king, the queen, a favourite lady, or some person of dignity. In a state very similar to this are the cnihtas in the Saxon wills. They appear to us, in like manner, in a rank far above a servant in the Saxon gild scipes. Of these fraternities cnihts constituted a part, and are distinctly mentioned, though with a reference to some lord to whom they were subordinate; a situ-

¹⁶ Heming. Chart.

¹⁷ Wilkins, Leg. Sax. p. 150.

ation which seems best explained by supposing them C H A P.
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free and respectable military dependants. "If a
"cniht draw a sword, the lord shall pay one pound,
"and let the lord get it when he may; and all the
"gildscipe shall help him that he may get his mo-
"ney. And if a cniht wounds another, his lord
"shall avenge it. And if a cniht sits within the
"ascent let him pay one fyster of honey; and
"if he has any footstool, let him pay the same ¹⁸." In another gildscipe, after each of the gild has been directed to bring two festers of malt, it is added,
"And let every cniht bring one, and a sceat of
"honey ¹⁹."

It occurs again, as a known and recognised character, in an act of a slave's emancipation, "Thereto
"is witness, William of Orchut, and Ruold the
"cniht, and Osbern fadera, and Umfreig of Tetta-
"born, and Alword the portreeve, and Johan the
"cniht ²⁰."

It occurs again as the designation of a known and reputable character in society, in a Saxon charta about land; for after many witnesses have been mentioned by name, these words follow: "And ma-
"ny a good cniht besides these ²¹."

THE term and the character of cniht was therefore, in the Anglo-Saxon period, rising fast to its full station of dignity.

THERE is a character represented in the illuminations and drawing of a Saxon MS. which I think

¹⁸ See the Gildscipe, in Hickes' Diff. Ep. p. 21.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 22.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 18.

²¹ Hickes' Gram. Pref. p. xi.

B O O K answers to the situation of a cniht, in its more advanced meaning. When a king is sitting on his throne, he is drawn as holding his sceptre. Close by him, and as a part of his public dignity, a person is standing, holding his sword and shield. This figure occurs several times in the drawings of Genesis, in Clond. B. 4. A similar character occurs near a king in the battle. The king is fighting; an armed attendant, apparently a young man, is fighting near him. I consider these to represent what was originally called a king thegn, or miles, and afterwards a cniht; and such a character I consider Lilla to have been, who received the assassin's blow that was intended for Edwin ²².

²² See 1 History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 276.

CHAP. XIV.

Their Superstitions.

THE belief that some human beings could attain the power of inflicting evils on their fellow creatures, and of controlling the operations of nature, existed among the Anglo-Saxons, but did not originate with them. It has appeared in all the regions of the globe; and from its extensive prevalence we may perceive that the human mind, in its state of ignorance and barbarism, is a soil well adapted to its reception and cultivation. It is not true that fear first made a deity; but it cannot be doubted that fear and hope are the parents of superstition.

LIFE has so many evils which the uninstructed mind can neither prevent nor avert, and encourages so many hopes which every age and condition burn to realize, that we cannot be astonished to find so large a portion of mankind the willing prey of impostors, practising on their credulity, by threats of evil, and promises of good, greater than the usual course of nature would dispense.

THE superstition of magic and witchcraft prevailed even in Greece and Rome, before the Saxons are known to have had an historical existence. The general diffusion of the fond mistake forbids us to derive the later impostures from those which preceded; but as every thing that was popular among the Romans must have scattered some effects on the

B O O K nations with whom they had intercourse, we will
 II. glance at the opinions which the masters of the world admitted on this delusive subject.

IT is amusing to read of Apuleius, who flourished under the Antonines, and who, though born in Africa, was educated at Athens, that he was accused of magic arts, and of having obtained a rich wife by his incantations. In his *Metamorphoseon* we have a curious picture of the witchcraft which was believed to exist in the ancient world. One of his characters is described as a *saga*, or witch¹, who could lower the sky, and raise the manes of the dead. She is stated to have transformed one lover into a beaver, another into a frog, and another into a ram; to have condemned a rival wife to perpetual gestation; to have closed up impreguably all the houses of a city, whose inhabitants were going to stone her; and to have transported the family of the authors of the commotion to the top of a distant mountain.

ANOTHER lady of similar taste is mentioned to have been a *maga*, mistress of every sepulchral song, who, by twigs, little stones, and such like petty instruments, could submerge all the light of the world in the lowest Tartarus, and into ancient chaos; who could turn her lovers that displeased her into stones or animals, or entirely destroy them².

APULEIUS afterwards gives us a description of one of her achievements. In the dead of the night, as two friends are sleeping in a room, the doors burst open with great fury; the bed of one is over-

¹ Apul. *Metamorph.* l. i. p. 6.

² Ibid. p. 21.

turned upon him; two witches enter, one carrying a light, the other a sponge and a sword. This CHAP. XIV. stabs her sleeping faithless lover, plunges the weapon up to its hilt in his throat, receives all the blood in a vessel, that not a drop might appear, and then takes out his heart. The other applied her sponge to the wounds, saying, "Sponge! sea-born! beware of rivers!" The consequence was, that though he waked and travelled as well as ever, yet when on his journey he approached a river, and proceeded to drink at it, his wounds opened, the sponge flew out, and the victim fell dead.

APULEIUS himself was a great student of magic. The chief seat of all these wonders is declared to have been Thessaly; and so popular was the notion of witchcraft among those nations whom in our youth we are taught almost exclusively to admire, that even philosophers thought that they accounted sufficiently for the miracles of the Christian legislator, by referring them to magic.

WE will consider the Anglo-Saxon superstitions under the heads of their witchcraft, their charms, and their prognostics.

THEIR pretenders to witchcraft were called wicca, scin-læca, galdor-cræftig, wiglær, and morthwyrtha. Wiglær is a combination from wig, an idol or a temple, and lær, learning, and may have been one of the characters of the Anglo-Saxon idolatry. He was the wizard, as wicca was the witch. Scin-læca was a species of phantom or apparition, and was also used as the name of the person who had the power of producing such things: it is, literally, a shining dead body. Galdor-cræftig implies one skilled in

B O O K incantations; and morthwyrtha is, literally, a wor-
 II. shipper of the dead.

ANOTHER general appellation for such personages was dry, a magician.

THE laws notice these practices with penal severity. The best account that can be given of them will be found in the passages proscribing them.

“ If any wicca, or wiglær, or false swearer, or
 “ morthwyrtha, or any foul, contaminated, mani-
 “ fest horcwenan (whore-queen or strumpet), be
 “ any where in the land, man shall drive them
 “ out ³.”

“ WE teach that every priest—shall extinguish
 “ all heathendom, and forbid wilweorthunga (foun-
 “ tain-worship), and licwiglunga (incantations of
 “ the dead), and hwata (omens), and galdra (ma-
 “ gic), and man-worship, and the abominations that
 “ men exercise in various sorts of witchcraft, and in
 “ frithsploottum, and with elms and other trees, and
 “ with stones, and with many other phantoms ⁴.”

FROM subsequent regulations, we find that these practices were made the instruments of the most fatal mischief; for penitentiary penalties are enjoined if any one should destroy another by wicce cræfte; or if any should drive sickness on a man; or if death should follow from the attempt ⁵.

THEY seem to have used philtres; for it is also made punishable if any should use witchcraft for another's love, or should give him to eat or to drink with magic ⁶. They were also forbid to wiglian by

³ Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 53.

⁴ Ibid. p. 83.

⁵ Ibid. p. 93.

⁶ Ibid.

the moon ⁷, Canute renewed the prohibitions. He enjoined them not to worship the sun or the moon, fire or floods, wells or stones, or any sort of tree; not to love wiccecraft, or frame death-spells, either by lot or by torch; nor to effect any thing by phantoms ⁸. From the Penitential of Theodore we also learn, that the power of letting loose tempests was also pretended to ⁹.

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ANOTHER name for their magical arts was unlybhan wyrce, literally, destructive of life. The penitence is prescribed for a woman who kills a man by unlybhan. One instance of their philtres is detailed to us. A woman resolving on the death of her step-son, or to alienate from him his father's affection, sought a witch, who knew how to change minds by art and enchantments. Addressing such a one with promises and rewards, she enquired how the mind of the father might be turned from the child, and be fixed on herself. The magical medicament was immediately made, and mixed with the husband's meat and drink. The catastrophe of the whole was the murder of the child; and the discovery of the crime by the assistant, to revenge the stepmother's ill treatment ¹⁰.

THE charms used by the Anglo-Saxons were innumerable. They trusted in their magical incantations for the cure of disease ¹¹, for the success of their

⁷ MS. Tib. A. 3.

⁸ Wilkins, p. 134.

⁹ Spelm. Concil. p. 155.

¹⁰ 3 Gale's Script. p. 439.

¹¹ For incantations to cure various diseases, see Wanley's Catalogue of Saxon MSS. p. 44, 115, 231, 232, 234, 305.

B O O K tillage ¹², for the discovery of lost property ¹³, and
 11. for the prevention of casualties ¹⁴. Specimens of
 their charms for these purposes still remain to us. Bede tells us, that “many, in times of disease (neglecting the sacraments) went to the erring medications of idolatry, as if to restrain God’s chastisements by incantations, phylacteries, or any other secret of the demoniacal arts ¹⁵.”

THEIR prognostics from the sun, from thunder, and from dreams, were so numerous, as to display and to perpetuate a most lamentable debility of mind. Every day of every month was catalogued as a propitious or unpropitious season for certain transactions. We have Anglo-Saxon treatises which contain rules for discovering the future fortune and disposition of a child, from the day of his nativity. One day was useful for all things; another, though good to tame animals, was baleful to sow seeds. One day was favourable to the commencement of business; another to let blood; and others wore a forbidding aspect to these and other things. On this day you was to buy, on a second to sell, on a third to hunt, on a fourth to do nothing. If your child was born on such a day, it would live; if on another, its life would be sickly; if on another, he would perish early. In a word, the most alarming

¹² For charms to make fields fertile, see Wanley, p. 98, 225.

¹³ For charms to find lost cattle, or any thing stolen, see Wanley, p. 114, 186.

¹⁴ For amulets against poison, disease, and battle, see also Wanley.

¹⁵ Bede, l. iv. c. 27.

fears, and the most extravagant hopes, were perpetually raised by these foolish superstitions, which tended to keep the mind in the dreary bondage of ignorance and absurdity, which prevented the growth of knowledge, by the incessant war of prejudice, and the slavish effects of the most imbecile apprehensions ¹⁶.

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THE same anticipations of futurity were made by noticing on what day of the week or month it first thundered, or the new moon appeared, or the new-year's-day occurred. Dreams likewise had regular interpretations and applications; and thus life, instead of being governed by the councils of wisdom, or the precepts of virtue, was directed by those solemn lessons of gross superstition, which the most ignorant peasant of our days would be ashamed to avow.

¹⁶ See especially MS. Tiberius, A. 3, and Bede's works on these subjects.

CHAP. XV.

Their Funerals.

BOOK
II. **T**HE northern nations, at one period, burnt their dead. But the custom of interring the body had become established among the Anglo-Saxons, at the æra when their history began to be recorded by their Christian clergy, and was never discontinued.

THEIR common coffins were wood; the more costly were stone. Thus a nun who had been buried in a wooden coffin was afterwards placed in one of stone ¹. Their kings were interred in stone coffins ²; they were buried in linen ³, and the clergy in their vestments ⁴. In two instances mentioned by Bede, the coffin was provided before death ⁵. We also read of the place of burial being chosen before death, and sometimes of its being ordered by will ⁶.

WITH the common sympathy of human nature, friends are described as attending, in illness, round the bed of the diseased. On their departure, we read of friends tearing their clothes and hair ⁷. One who died is mentioned to have been buried the next day ⁸. As Cuthbert, the eleventh bishop from Augustin, obtained leave to make cemeteries within

¹ Bede, l. iv. c. 19.

² Ibid. l. iv. c. 19.

³ Ibid. l. v. c. 5, and l. iv. c. 11.

⁷ Eddius, p. 64.

² Ibid. l. iv. c. 4.

⁴ Ibid. p. 261.

⁶ 3 Gale, Script. 470.

⁸ Bede, p. 302.

cities⁹, we may infer that the more healthful custom of depositing the dead at some distance from the habitations of the living, was the general practice; but afterwards it became the custom of England to bury the dead in the churches. The first restriction to this practice was the injunction that none should be so buried, unless it was known that in his life he had been acceptable to God. It was afterwards ordered that no corpse should be deposited in church, unless of an ecclesiastic, or a layman so righteous as to deserve such a distinction. All former tombs in churches were directed to be made level with the pavement, so that none might be seen: and if in any part, from the number of the tombs, this was difficult to be done, then the altar was to be removed to a purer spot, and the occupied place was to become merely a burying ground¹⁰.

SOME of their customs at death may be learnt from the following narrations. It is mentioned in Dunstan's life, that Æthelfleda, when on her death-bed, said to him, "Do thou, early in the morning, cause the baths to be hastened, and the funeral vestments to be prepared, which I am about to wear; and after the washing of my body, I will celebrate the mass, and receive the sacrament; and in that manner I shall die."

⁹ Dugd. Mon. i. p. 25.

¹⁰ Wilk. Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 179. p. 84.

¹¹ MSS. Cleop. B. 13. This life has been printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, from a MS. brought from the Vedastine monastery at Rome. This MS. differs from the Cotton MS. in some particulars. It has the preface, which

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II.

THE sickness, death, and burial of Archbishop Wilfred, in the eighth century, is described with these particulars. On the attack of his illness, all the abbots and anchorites near were unwearied in their prayers for his recovery. He survived, with his senses; and power of speech returned, for a year and a half. A short time before his death, he invited two abbots and six faithful brethren to attend him, and desired them to open his treasure chest with a key. The gold, silver, and precious stones therein were brought out, and divided into four parts, as he directed. One of these he ordered to be sent to the churches at Rome, as a present for his soul; another part was to be divided among the poor of his people; a third he gave to some monasteries, to obtain therewith the friendship of the kings and bishops; and the fourth he destined to those who had shared in his labours, and to whom he had not given lands.

AFTER his death, one of the abbots spread his linen garments on the ground. The brethren laid his body on it, washed it with their hands, and put on his ecclesiastical dress. Afterwards they wrapped it in linen, and, singing hymns, they conducted it in a carriage to the monastery. All the monks came out to meet it; none abstained from tears and weeping. They received it with hymns and chant.

the Cotton MS. wants; but it has not two pages of the conclusion, which are in the Cotton MS. In the body of the Roman MS. there are forty-two hexameters, which are not in the Cotton MS.

ings, and deposited it in the church which he had built ¹². CHAP.
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ONE of the nobles who attended the king at his easter court having died, it is mentioned that his body was carried to Glastonbury; and the king ordered some of the bishops, earls, and barons to attend the bier thither with honour ¹³.

WHEN the body of an alderman was taken to the monastery at Ramsay to be buried, a numerous assemblage from the neighbourhood met to accompany his exequies ¹⁴.

THE faul-sceat, or the payment to the clergy on death, became a very general practice. No respectable person died or was buried without a handsome present to some branch or other of the ecclesiastical establishment.

NOTHING can more strongly express the importance and necessity of this custom, than that several of their gilds seem to have been formed chiefly with a view to provide a fund for this purpose.

It appears in all the wills. Thus Wynflæd, for her faul-sceat, gave to every one of the religious at the places she mentions, a mancus of gold; and to another place, half a pound's worth, for faul-sceat. She adds a direction to her children, that they will illuminate for her soul.

BYRHTRIC, for his soul and his ancestors, gave two fulings of land by his will, and a similar present, with thirty gold mancys, for his wife's soul and her ancestors ¹⁵. Wulfaru bequeaths to Saint

¹² Eddius, p. 89.

¹⁴ 3 Gale Script. p. 428.

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¹³ 3 Gale Script. p. 395.

¹⁵ Hickee's Diff. Ep. 51.

BOOK II. Peter's minster, for his "miserable soul," and for his ancestors, a bracelet, a patera, two golden crosses with garments and bed-clothes ¹⁶.

A **DUX** who flourished in the days of Edgar and Æthelred, not only gave an abbot some valuable lands, in return for his liberal hospitality, but also several others, with thirty marcs of gold, and twenty pounds of silver, two golden crosses, two pieces of his cloak, set with gold and gems, in valuable workmanship, and other things, that, if he fell in battle, his body might be buried with them ¹⁷.

A **DUX** in Alfred's days directed 100 swine to be given to a church in Canterbury, for him and for his soul; and the same to Chertsey abbey. The same dux directed 200 peninga to be paid annually from some land to Chertsey abbey, for the soul of Alfred ¹⁸.

So Æthelstan the Ætheling gave to St. Peter's church at Westminster, land which he had bought of his father for 200 mancufan of gold, by weight five pounds of silver, and other land, which he had purchased for 250 gold mancus by weight; and the land which his father released to him for both their souls: he makes other bequests to other religious places ¹⁹.

¹⁶ Hickes' Diff. p. 54.

¹⁸ Test, Ælf. App. Sax. Dict.

¹⁷ 3 Gale Script. 494.

¹⁹ App. Sax. Dict.

BOOK III.

Their Landed Property.

CHAP. I.

Their Husbandry.

THE agricultural state may have been coeval with the pastoral, in the climates of the east, where nature is so profuse of her rural gifts, that cultivation is scarcely requisite; but in the more ungenial regions of the north of Europe, where the food of man is not to be obtained from the earth, without the union of skill and labour, the pastoral state seems to have been the earliest occupation of uncivilized man. While this taste prevailed, agricultural attentions were disreputable and despised, as among the ancient Germans. But when population became more numerous and less migratory, husbandry rose in the human estimation and use, until at length it became indispensable to the subsistence of the nation who pursued it.

THE Anglo-Saxons cultivated the art of husbandry with some attention. The articles which they raised from the earth, and the animals which they fed, have been mentioned in the chapter on their food. A few particulars of their practical husbandry need only be mentioned here.

THEY used hedges and ditches to separate their fields and lands ¹; and these were made necessary by law; for if a freeman broke through a hedge, he had to pay six shillings ². A ceorle was ordered to keep his farm inclosed both winter and summer; and if damage arose to any one who suffered his gate to be open and his hedge to be broken down, he was subjected to legal consequences ³.

THEY had common of pasture attached to the different portions of land which they possessed; and they had other extensive districts laid out in meadow. Every estate had also an appropriated quantity of wood. In Domesday-book the ploughed land, the meadow, the pasture, and the wood, are separately mentioned, and their different quantities estimated.

THEY sowed their wheat in spring ⁴. It was a law that he who had twenty hides of land should take care that there should be twelve hides of it sown when he was to leave it ⁵.

THEY had ploughs, rakes, sickles, scythes, forks, and flails, very like those that have been commonly used in this country ⁶. They had also carts or wag-gons. Their wind-mills and water-mills are frequently mentioned in every period of their history.

THEIR woods were an object of their legislative attention. If any one burnt or cut down another's

¹ These appear in most of the boundaries described in the Saxon grants. Hedges are mentioned in Domesday. A *nemus ad sepes facendum* occurs in Middlesex, fo 127.

² Wilk. Leg 4.

³ Ibid. p. 21.

⁴ Bede, p. 244.

⁵ Wilk. Leg. p. 25.

⁶ Their drawings in their MSS. shew a great resemblance between the Saxon instruments and those still used in the northern counties of England.

wood without permission, he was to pay five shillings for every great tree, and five pennies for every other, and thirty shillings besides, as a penalty ⁷. By another law, this offence was more severely punished ⁸.

C H A P.
I.

THEY were careful of the sheep. It was ordered by an express law, that these animals should keep their fleece until midsummer, and that the value of a sheep should be one shilling until a fortnight after Easter ⁹.

THERE are some curious delineations in a Saxon calendar, which illustrate some of their agricultural labours ¹⁰.

IN January are men ploughing with four oxen; one drives, another holds the plough, and another scatters seeds.

IN February men are represented as cutting or pruning trees, of which some resemble vines.

IN March one is digging, another is with a pick-ax, and a third is sowing.

IN April three persons are pictured as sitting and drinking, with two attendants; another is pouring out liquor into a horn; and another is holding a horn to his mouth.

IN May a shepherd is sitting; his flocks are about, and one man has a lamb in his arms; other persons are looking on.

IN June some are reaping with a sickle, and some putting the corn into a cart. A man is blowing a horn while they are working.

⁷ Wilk. p. 37.

⁸ Ibid. p. 21.

⁹ Ibid. p. 25, 23.

¹⁰ Cott. MS. Tib. B. 5. See them copied in Strutt's *Hord*: Angl. V. 1. tab. x. xi. xii.

BOOK
III.

IN July they are felling trees.

IN August they are mowing.

IN September is a boar-hunting. IN October is hawking. IN November a smithery is shewn. IN December two men are thrashing, others are carrying the grain in a basket; one has a measure, as if to ascertain the quantity; and another, on a notched stick, seems to be marking what is measured and taken away.

IN the Saxon dialogues already quoted, the ploughman gives this account of his duty:

“I LABOUR much. I go out at day-break, urging the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plough (thefyl). It is not yet so stark winter that I dare keep close at home, for fear of my lord; but the oxen being yoked, and the share and cultro fastened on, I ought to plough every day one entire field or more. I have a boy to threaten the oxen with a goad, who is now hoarse through cold and bawling. I ought also to fill the binns of the oxen with hay, and water them, and carry out their soil. He adds, It is a great labour, because I am not free.”

IN the same MSS. we have this statement of a shepherd's and a cowherd's duty. “In the first part of the morning I drive my sheep to their pasture, and stand over them in heat and cold in with dogs, lest the wolves destroy them. I lead them back to their folds, and milk them twice a day; and I move their folds, and make cheese and butter; and I am faithful to my lord.” The other says, “When the ploughman separates the oxen, I lead them to the meadows; and all night I stand watching over them,

on account of thieves ; and again, in the morning, C H A P.
I.
I take them to the plough, well fed and watered."

SOME circumstances may be selected from their grants, which illustrate the customs and produce of an Anglo-Saxon farm. "I give food for seventy
" swine in that woody allotment which the coun-
" trymen call Wulferdinleh, and five waggons full
" of good twigs, and every year an oak for building,
" and others for necessary fires, and sufficient wood
" for burning ".

A NOBLE lady ordered out of her lands a yearly donation of forty ambra of malt, an old ram, four wethers, two hundred and forty loaves, and one weight of bacon and cheese, and four fother of wood, and twenty hen-fowls ".

IN Ina's laws, ten hides were to furnish ten vessels of honey, three hundred loaves, twelve ambra of Welch ale, thirty of clear ale, two old rams, ten wethers, ten geese, twenty hens, ten cheeses, an ambra full of butter, five salmons, twenty pounds weight of fodder, and an hundred eels ".

ANOTHER gives ten mittas of malt, five of grits, ten mittas of the flour of wheat, eight gammons, sixteen cheeses, and two fat cows ; and in lent eight salmons ".

OFFA, in 785, grants some land, with permission to feed swine, in the wood of Andreda ; and another district to cut wood for building or for burning ; and also wood sufficient to boil salt ; and the

" Bede, App. 770.

" Hickee's Diff. Ep. 10.

" Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 25.

" 3 Gale Hist. R. 410.

B O O K fishing of one man; with one hundred loaded wag-
 { ^{III.} gons, and two walking carts, every year ¹⁵.

WE frequently find salt-pans, or places to boil salt in, conveyed, as, "with four vessels for the "boiling of salt," and "with all the utensils and "wells of salt ¹⁶."

FISHERIES were frequently given with land. To three plough lands in Kent a fishery on the Thames is added ¹⁷. Æthelstan gives a piece of land for the use of taking fish ¹⁸. So forty acres, with fishing, were given on the condition of receiving every year fifteen salmon ¹⁹. So half of a fishery is given to a monastery, with the buildings and tofts of the fishermen ²⁰.

A VINEYARD is not unfrequently mentioned in various documents. Edgar gives the vineyard situate at Wecet, with the vinedressers ²¹. In Domesday-book, vineyards are noticed in several counties.

A WOLF-PIT is mentioned in one of the boundaries of an estate ²².

IN Domesday we frequently meet with parks. Thus speaking of Rislepe in Middlesex, it adds, "There is a park (parcus) of beasts of the wood ²³." At St. Alban's, and Ware in Herts, similar parks are mentioned, and in other places.

GARDENS also occur several times in Domesday. Eight cotarii and their gardens ²⁴ are stated in the

¹⁵ Aisle's MS. Charters, No. 4.

¹⁶ Heming. Chart. Wig. p. 144. p. 48.

¹⁷ Thorpe Regist. 20.

¹⁸ Heming. Chart. p. 111.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 171.

²⁰ 3 Gale X. Script. p. 405.

²¹ MS. Claud. C. 9. p. 116.

²² 3 Gale, p. 520.

²³ Domesday, 129, b.

²⁴ Ibid. 127, b.

manor of Fuleham in Middlesex. And we may ^{C H A P.} remark that Fulham still abounds with market gardeners. _{I.} A house with its garden is mentioned in the burg of Hertford ²⁵.

Two or three intimations occur in Domesday of the increasing conversion of pasture into arable land. Thus at Borne in Kent, "a pasture from which "strangers have ploughed six acres of land ²⁶."

WE have many contracts extant of the purchases of land by the Anglo-Saxons, from which we may expect to gain some knowledge of the price of land. But this source of information is by no means sufficient to form an accurate criterion, because we cannot tell the degree of cultivation, or the quality of the land transferred; and also because many of the grants seem to have been rather gifts than sales, in which the consideration bears little proportion to the obvious value. A few of the prices given may however be stated.

1 hyde and a field for 100 shillings.

3 hydes for L. 15.

10 hydes and two mills for 100 aureos.

7 hydes and an half for 200 aureos ²⁷.

6 cassatorium for 3 pundus argenti.

10 manentium for 31 mancofas.

20 manentium for 10 libris argenti.

2 mansiones for 20 manecufis auri probatissimi ²⁸.

15 manentes for 1500 solidis argenti.

5 manentium for 10 libras inter aurum et argentum.

²⁵ Domesday, 132.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 9.

²⁷ 3 Gale, p. 483. 485. 480. 486.

²⁸ Heming. Chart. p. 69, 70, 222, 230.

B O O K
III.

5 manentium for 150 mancas de puro auro.

8 manfas for 90 mancusa of purest gold.

10 manfas for 30 mancusas of pure gold.

8 manfas for 300 criseis mancufis²⁹.

It is obvious from this short specimen of the sums mentioned in their documents, no regular estimate can be formed of the usual price of their land.

By the exorcisms to make fields fertile which remain, we may perceive that our superstitious ancestors thought that they could produce abundant harvests by nonsensical ceremonies and phrases. They who chuse may see a long one in Calig. A. 7. It is too long and too absurd to be copied. But we may recollect, in justice to our ancestors, that Cato the censor has transmitted to us a recipe as ridiculous.

THE course of nature, in the revolutions of the seasons, had suffered no essential change since the deluge, which human records notice. We may therefore presume that the seasons in the Anglo-Saxon period resembled those which preceded and have followed them. Bede calls October Winter-fyllea, because winter begins in this month. And we have a description of Anglo-Saxon winter from a disciple of Bede: "The last winter far and wide
 "afflicted our island horribly, by its cold, its frosts,
 "and storms of rain and wind³⁰."

To give some notion of the state of the atmosphere and of the seasons in these times, it may not be uninteresting to mention some of the years which were more remarkable for the calamities of the weather which attended them.

²⁹ MS. Claud. c. 9.

³⁰ 16 Mag. Bib. p. 88.

A. D. 763-64. THIS winter was so severe for its snow and frost, as to have been thought unparalleled. The frost lasted from the first of October to February. Most of the trees and shrubs perished by the excessive cold ³¹. C H A P. I.

793. A GREAT famine and mortality ³².

799. VIOLENT tempest, and numerous shipwrecks in the British ocean ³³.

807-8. A VERY mild and pestilential winter ³⁴.

820. FROM excessive and continual rains, a great mortality of men and cattle ensued. The harvest was spoilt: Great inundations prevented the autumnal sowing ³⁵.

821. A DREADFUL winter followed. The frost was so long and severe, that not only all the smaller rivers, but even the largest in Europe, as the Seine, the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Danube, were so frozen, that for above thirty days waggons passed over them as if over bridges ³⁶.

823. THE harvests devastated by hail. A terrible pestilence among men and cattle ³⁷.

824. A DREADFUL and long winter. Not only animals, but many of the human species, perished by the intenseness of the cold ³⁸.

³¹ Simeon Dunelm, p. 105. Ann. Astron. ap. Ruberi, p. 18. Sigeb. Gembl. p. 551.

³² Sim. Dun. p. 112. ³³ Ibid. 115.

³⁴ Adelmi Benedict. p. 409. ³⁵ Ibid. p. 421.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 422. Ann. Astron. p. 46.

³⁷ Adel. B. 425. Sigeb. Gembl. 561.

³⁸ Ann. Fuld. 6 Bouquet's Recueil, p. 208. Annales, apud Ruberi, p. 49.

BOOK
III.

832. THIS year began with excessive rains. A frost succeeded so sudden and intense, that the iced roads were nearly impassable by horses ³⁹.

834. GREAT storms and excessive falls of rain ⁴⁰.

851. SEVERE famine on the continent ⁴¹.

869. GREAT famine and mortality in England ⁴².

874. A SWARM of locusts laid waste the provinces of France. A famine so dreadful followed, that, in the hyperbolic language of the writers, nearly a third part of the population perished.

875. A LONG and inclement winter, succeeded with unusual falls of snow. The frost lasted from the first of November to the end of March ⁴³.

913. A SEVERE winter.

956. A VERY mortal pestilence ⁴⁴.

976. A SEVERE famine in England. A frost from 1st November to end of March.

986. A GREAT mortality amongst cattle in England ⁴⁵.

987. A DREADFUL flux and fever in England ⁴⁶.

988. A SUMMER of extreme heat.

989. GREAT inundations. Very hot summer;

³⁹ Annales Ruberi, 56. Adel. Bened. 463.

⁴⁰ Annales Ruberi, 58.

⁴¹ Sigeb. Gembl. apud Pistorium, p. 565.

⁴² Affer, p. 20.

⁴³ Ibid. 568. Aimoini de gestis Fran. p. 489. Sigeb. Gembl. 569

⁴⁴ Regino Chron. p. 74. 79.

⁴⁵ Sax. Chron. 123. 125. Sim. Dun. 160. Sig. Gemb. 587.

⁴⁶ Flor. Wig. and Sim. Dun. 161.

unhealthy and unfruitful. Great drought and famine; much snow and rain; and no sowing ⁴⁷. C H A P. 1.

1005. A GREAT and dreadful famine in England.

1006. THE same over all Europe ⁴⁸.

1014. GREAT sea flood.

1016. GREAT hail, thunder, and lightning ⁴⁹.

1022. EXTREME heat in the summer.

1039. A SEVERE winter.

1041. INCLEMENT seasons all the year, and unproductive; and great mortality amongst the cattle ⁵⁰.

1043-44. A DREADFUL famine in England and the continent. A fester of wheat sold for above sixty pennies ⁵¹.

1047. AN uncommon fall of snow. Trees broken by it ⁵².

1048. EARTHQUAKE at Worcester, Derby, and other places; and a great mortality ⁵³.

OF the Anglo-Saxon husbandry we may remark, that Domesday survey gives us some indications that the cultivation of the church lands was much supe-

⁴⁷ Lamb. Schaff. p. 158. Sigeb. Gembl. 589.

⁴⁸ Sim. Dun. 165. Sig. Gembl. 591.

⁴⁹ Sax. Chron. 146. Lamb. Schaff. 158.

⁵⁰ Sig. Gembl. 91. Sim. Dun. 180.

⁵¹ Sax. Chron. 157. Sig. Gembl. 596. The MS. Claud. c. 9. mentions that the sextarius of wheat sold for five shillings, p. 129. Henry of Huntingdon says the same, adding, that a sextarius of wheat used to be the burthen of one horse, p. 365.

⁵² Sim. Dun. 180. Sig. Gembl. 597.

⁵³ Sax. Chron. 183.

B O O K rior to that of any other order of society. They
^{III.} have much less wood upon them, and less common
of pasture; and what they had appears often in
smaller and more irregular pieces; while their mea-
dow was more abundant, and in more numerous
distributions.

CHAP. II.

Their Proprietorship in Land and Tenures.

WHEN the Anglo-Saxons established themselves in Britain, a complete revolution in the possession of landed property must have taken place, so far as it concerned the persons of the proprietors. They succeeded by the sword. All the chieftains of the monarchy had many years of warfare to wage, before they could extort the occupation of the country. In such fierce assaults, and such desperate resistance, the largest part of the proprietary body of the Britons must have perished.

CHAP.
II.

WHAT system of tenures the Anglo-Saxon conquerors established will be best known from the language of their grants. Some antiquaries have promulged very inaccurate ideas on this subject; and we can only hope to escape error by consulting the documents, and studying the legal phrases of the Anglo Saxon period.

We find the land distinguished in their laws by various epithets. We there meet with boc-lande, gafole land, folc land, bisceopa land, thegne's land, neat land, and frigan earthe ⁵⁴. The proprietors of land are called dryhtne hlaforde, agende or land hlaforde, and land agende ⁵⁵. The occupiers of

⁵⁴ Wilkins Leges Sax. p. 43. 47, 49, 65. 76.

⁵⁵ Ib. p. 2. 10. 11. 15. 21. 8. 58. 63.

B O O K land were named ceorle, geneat, landesman, tunef-
 III. man ⁵⁶, and fuch like.

FROM Domesday book we find that of some lands the king was the chief proprietor, of others the bishops and abbots, of others several earls and persons of inferior dignity. A few specimens may be given. Thus in Suffex

	Hides.
The king had	59½
Archbishop of Canterbury,	214
Bishop of Chichester,	184
Abbot of Westminster,	7
Abbot of Fescamp,	135
Bishop Osbern,	149
Abbot of St. Peter Winchester,	33
Church of Battle,	60½
Abbot of St. Edward,	21
Comes of Oro,	196¼
Comes of Moriton,	520
Comes Roger,	818
William of Warene,	620¼
William of Braiose,	452½
Odo and Eldred,	10

These were the tenentes in capite, the great proprietors in demesne. The men who resided on the land, and in the burgs under these in this county, may be seen in the appendix. In other counties, we find the same description of persons possessing land, with the addition of others. Thus the great proprietors in Hertfordshire were the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, five bishops, three abbots, an abbeys, two canons, four earls or comites, twenty-

⁵⁶ Wilkins Leges Sax. p. 18. 47. 101. 105.

four less dignified individuals, and three ladies. C H A P.
 Two of these ladies are described as wives. Thus: II
 “Rothais, wife of Richard, son of Earl Gislebert,
 holds Standor, and defends herself for eleven hides;
 Adeliz, wife of Hugo of Grentmaïsnil, holds
 Brochesborne, and defends herself for five hides
 and a half.” The other was the daughter of Ra-
 dulf Tailgebosch, and held four hides in Ho-
 derdon.

IN Buckinghamshire the chief proprietors were,
 the king, the archbishop, five bishops, two abbots,
 an abbeſs, a canon, a preſbyter, two earls, thirty-
 eight other individuals; the queen, counteſs Ju-
 derth Azelina, wife of Radulf Tailgebosch, the
 king, thane, and eleemoſiners.

BUT subordinate tenures are alſo mentioned in
 this valuable record. Thus the abbeſs of Berching
 held Tiburn (Tyburn) under the king, and the ca-
 nons of St. Paul held of the king, five hides in
 Fulham. Many tenures of this ſort appear ⁵⁷.

To ſeveral tenures it is added, that the poſſeſſors
 could not give or ſell the land without leave ⁵⁸.

OTHER tenants are mentioned, who could turn
 themſelves, with their land, wherever they pleaſed ⁵⁹.

LAND held in elemoſinan, or frankalmoigne, alſo
 appears ⁶⁰.

OF other tenants it is ſaid that they held certain
 manors, but rendered no ſervice to the abbot, ex-
 cept thirty ſhillings a-year ⁶¹.

⁵⁷ Doomſday-book.

⁵⁸ Ibid. fo. 129.

⁵⁹ Ibid. fo. 6, 7, 129.

⁶⁰ Ibid. fo. 12. 137.

⁶¹ Ib. fo. 12.

BOOK
III.

SOCHMANNI, and the terra sochmannorum, are mentioned ; of two of them it is expressed that they could sell without leave ; while another is declared unable to give or sell without his lord's leave. Two other sochmanni are called Men of the bishop of London⁶².

ONE of the sochmen, who could do what he chose with the land, was a canon of St. Paul's.

OF the tenures which appear from the Anglo-Saxon grants, the first that may be noticed is that of pure freehold of inheritance, unconnected with any limitation or service. Thus, in a conveyance made between 691 and 694, the kinsman of the king of Essex gives some land, amounting to 40 manentium. The conveying words are, " I Ho-
" dilredus, the kinsman of Sebbi, in the province
" of the East Saxons, with his consent, of my own
" will, in sound mind, and by just advice, for ever
" deliver to thee, and from my right transcribe
" into thine the land, &c., with all things belong-
" ing to it, with the fields, wood, meadows, and
" marsh, that, as well thou, as thy posterity, may
" hold, possess, and have free power to do with
" the land whatsoever thou wilt⁶³."

IN another, dated in 704, from a king to a bishop of 30 cassatorium, at Tincenhom in Middlesex, the words are, We have decreed to give in dominio to Waldhare, bishop, part of a field, &c. The possession of this land so as aforesaid, with

⁶² Doomsday-book, fo. 11, 129.

⁶³ MS. Augustus, 7. 26. printed in Smith's Appendix to Bede, p. 748.

fields to be sowed, pastures, meadows, marshes, fisheries, rivers, closes, and appurtenances, we deliver to be possessed in dominio by the above bishop in perpetual right, and that he have the free power of doing whatsoever he will ⁶⁴.

C H A P.
II.

THERE seems to have been no prescribed form of words for the conveyance of a freehold estate, because we find that almost every grant varies in some of its phrases. The most essential requisite seems to have been that the words should imply an intended perpetuity of possession. One other specimen of a freehold grant, not quite so absolute as the above, may be added: "That it may be in his power, and may remain firmly fixed in hereditary right, both free from the services of all secular things within and without, and from all burden and injury of greater or smaller causes, and that he may have the liberty of changing or giving it in his life, and after his death may have the power of leaving it to whomsoever he will ⁶⁵."

FREEHOLD estates also occur, made subject to the three great services to which almost all lands were liable. In these cases the duty of military expedition, and bridge and castle work, are expressly excepted ⁶⁶. A modification of this freehold tenure is where the grant is for the life of the person receiving it, with a power of giving it to any person after his death, in perpetual inheritance. This kind

⁶⁴ Append. to Bede, p. 749.

⁶⁵ MS. Charters of the late Mr. Asple, No. 7.

⁶⁶ MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 112, 113.

B O O K of estate very frequently occurs in the Saxon grants, and differs from the pure and absolute freehold, inasmuch as it does not appear that the tenant for life had the liberty of alienating it before his death, nor that it was descendible to his heirs if he made no testamentary devise.

THUS in a grant, dated 756, the part which lawyers call the habendum, and which determines the nature of the tenure, is thus expressed :
 “ I will give it him for ever.—That he may have
 “ and possess it as long as he lives, and after time,
 “ that he may leave it to any person he shall
 “ please, to be possessed in hereditary right, with
 “ the same liberty in which it is granted to
 “ him⁶⁷.”

OTHERS are in these phrases : “ To have and
 “ possess it in his own possession, and for his days
 “ to enjoy it happily, and after his days to leave to
 “ whomsoever shall be agreeable to him in ever-
 “ lasting inheritance⁶⁸.”

A VERY common tenure in the Anglo-Saxon times was, that the person to whom an estate was conveyed should hold it for his life, and should have the power of giving it after his death to any one, two, three, or more heirs, as mentioned in the grant, after which it should revert either to the original proprietor making the grant, or to some ecclesiastical body or other person mentioned in it.

THUS Oswald gives lands to a person, in the stability of perpetual inheritance; that in having

⁶⁷ Smith's App. p. 767.

⁶⁸ Aisle's MS. Charters, No. 12. and No. 16.

he may hold it, and possessing it may enjoy it, for the length of his life. After his death he might leave it to any two heirs whom he preferred, to have it perpetually—After their death it was to revert to the church of St. Mary⁶⁹. C H A P.
II.

IN 984 Oswald gave to his kinsman Eadwig, and his wife, three mansæ for their lives. If the husband survived her he was to be deemed the first possessor, or heir of the land; or if she survived, she was to be the first heir. They were empowered to leave all to their offspring, if they had any; if not, the survivor was to leave it to any two heirs⁷⁰.

THUS a bishop gave to Berhtwulf, the Mercian king, certain lands “for the space of the days of five men, to have and to enjoy it with justice, and after the number of their days that it may be returned, without any dissention or conflict, to the church in Worcester.” This same land Berhtwulf gave to his minister Ecbercht “for the space of the days of five men, as before it was given to him⁷¹.”

SOMETIMES an attempt was made to possess the land beyond the number of lives indicated. It is mentioned in a charter that one Cynethryth had conveyed some land for three lives, and that Ælsted had added three more lives, when it was discovered by inspecting the hereditarios libros of the king Kenulf, who first granted it, that the person originally receiving it had only the power of giving it

⁶⁹ Smith's App. Bede, p. 773.

⁷⁰ Ib. p. 778.

⁷¹ Heming. Chart. p. 6. 8.

BOOK for one life. Consequently the subsequent grants
 III. were set aside ⁷².

A LIFE estate was also a very frequent tenure. Sometimes the remainder that was to follow a life estate was expressed. This was usually to the church.

THUS Aldred, in the middle of the eighth century, gave a monastery to his relation, "on condition that she possess it as long as she lives, and "when she goes the way of her fathers," it was to revert to the church of Worcester into the jus of the episcopal seat ⁷³. An archbishop devised land to a person for life, with remainder to an abbey ⁷⁴.

THE land passing by these grants was called Bocland, as the land held by bishops was mentioned as Bisceopa land; the land of Thegns was Thegnes land, and the land of Earles was Earles land. All these occur in Domesday-book. There was also King's land, Gerefa land, and such like; but these names attached to land seem rather to express the quality of the demesne proprietors than any other circumstance.

ONE grant is rather singular, in the limitations of the estate which it conveys. The king gives a manor to Edred, and permits Edred to give it to Lulla and Sigethrythe, who are enjoined to give part of the land to Eaulfe and Herewine. But Eaulfe was to give half of this part to Biarnulve,

⁷² Heming. Chart. p. 29.

⁷³ Smith's App. Bede, p. 765.

⁷⁴ MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 125.

and to enjoy the other half for his own life, with the power of devising it as he pleased ⁷⁵. C H A P.
II.

To these tenures we may add the Gafoleland, or land granted or demised on the condition of paying some contribution in money or other property. Thus archbishop Ealdulf, in 996, gave land to a miles, for his life and two heirs, but annexed a condition that they should provide every year fifteen falmon ⁷⁶. An abbot and the monks demised twenty-seven acres to a person that he might have them in stipendium as long as he served them well ⁷⁷.

AN ancient lease is mentioned in the year 852, by which Ceolred, abbot of Medeshamstede, and the monks, let (leot) to Wulfred the land at Sempigaham for her life, on condition that he gave (besides some other land) a yearly rent of sixty fother of wood, twelve fother of græfan, which may mean coals; six fother of turf, two tuns full of clear ale, two slain cattle, six hundred loaves, ten mittan of Welsh ale, one horse, thirty shillings, and a night's lodging ⁷⁸. A marth was leased at the rent of two thousand eels ⁷⁹. By the laws a ceorl who had gafol lande was estimated at two hundred shillings ⁸⁰.

⁷⁵ Aftle's MS. Charters, No. 20.

⁷⁶ Heming. Chart. p. 191. * ⁷⁷ 3 Gale's Script. p. 475.

⁷⁸ Sax. Chron. p. 75. ⁷⁹ 3 Gale's Scrip. p. 477.

⁸⁰ Wilkin's Leg. Sax. p. 47.

CHAP. III.

*The Burdens to which Lands were liable, and their Privileges.*BOOK
III.

THE oldest Saxon grants we have contain re-
servations of services which the possessor of
the land had to perform, and, from the language
of those which have survived to our times, we per-
ceive that certain burdens, though varying in kind
and quantity, were attached to estates in every age.
Some few were exempted from any ; a larger pro-
portion were freed from all but the three great ne-
cessities which in one charter are described to be,
“ what it is necessary that all people should do, and
“ from which work none can be excused.”

THESE three common labours, or universal ne-
cessities, as they are frequently styled, are the fyrd-
færelde; the bryge geweorc; and the weal, or
fæsten-geweorc.

THE fyrd-færelde was the military service to
which all the Saxon lands appear to have been sub-
ject, excepting those which the king, with the con-
sent of his Witena, or sometimes the king alone,
expressly exempted from the obligation. This
military service consisted in providing a certain
number of armed men, proportioned to the rated
quantity of land, who were to attend the king or
his officers on expeditions made for the public safe-

• Heming. Chart. p. 109.

ty, or against invading enemies. What number of men a given quantity of land was to furnish cannot now be precisely stated; though it would seem, from Doomsday-book, that five hides found one foldier in most counties. In the year 821 a grant of various lands was made with the specified condition, that the owner should attend the public expedition with twelve vassals and as many shields*. Even church lands were not exempt from this general obligation of military service. We find a person mentioned as a witness, who was "the leader of the army of the same bishop to the king's service³." Egelwin, prior of a monastery, gave to a miles the villa of Crohlea for life, on the condition that he should serve for the monastery in the expeditions by sea and land⁴.

THERE are many grants of lands to monasteries in which the military service is expressly reserved. It is almost always spoken of as a general, known, and established thing. It is mentioned in Doomsday-book of the burgh of Lideford, in Devonshire, that when an expedition is on foot, either by land or sea, the burg has to render the same amount of service as should be required from Totness.

OF Totness it is said, that when expeditions are enjoined, as much service is to be rendered from Totness, Barnstaple, and Lideford, as from Exeter, and Exeter was to serve as for five hides of land⁵.

* MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 104.

² Heming. Chart. p. 81.

⁴ lb. p. 265.

⁵ Doomsday-book, con. Devonshire.

BOOK
III.

IT is from Doomsday-book that we may collect the most precise information on this curious topic. It is said of Berkshire that "if the king should send an army anywhere, only one soldier should go for five hides, and for his victuals and pay, every hide was to give him four shillings for two months. This money was not to be sent to the king, but to be given to the soldiers⁶."

OF the city of Oxford it is said that when the king should go on an expedition, twenty burghers should go with him for all the others, or that twenty pounds should be paid, that all might be free⁷.

THIS curious article shews that the military service might be commuted by a pecuniary mulct.

IN Worcestershire it is declared that "when the king goes against the enemy, if any one, after summoned by his mandate, should remain, he should (if he was a freeman having his sac, and able to go where he pleased) forfeit all his land at the pleasure of the king." But if he was a freeman under another lord, his lord should carry another man for him, and the offender should pay his lord forty shillings. But if no one at all went for him, he was to pay his lord that sum, who was to be answerable for as much to the king⁸.

ON these expeditions it was the privilege of the men serving for Herefordshire, that they should

⁶ Doomsday-book, con. Berockesfire.

⁷ Ib. Oxenefordscire, ⁸ Ib. Wirecestrescire,

form the advanced guard in the progress, and the rear guard in a retreat ⁹.

FROM Leiceſter twelve burghers were to go with the king when he went with an army by land. If the expedition was maritime, they were to ſend him four horſes from the ſame burg, as far as London, to carry their arms and neceſſaries ¹⁰.

THE cuſtom of Warwick was, that ten burghers ſhould go on the expedition for the reſt. Whoever did not go after his ſummons, forfeited to the king one hundred ſhillings. When the king went by ſea againſt his enemies, this burg was to ſend him four batſueins, or four pounds of pennies ¹¹.

THE fyrde or expedition is mentioned ſo early as in the laws of Ina. If a ſith-cind man owning land abſtained from the fyrde he was to pay one hundred and twenty ſhillings, and loſe his land. If he is not a land-owner he was to pay ſixty ſhillings, and a ceorle ſixty ſhillings for the fyrde mulct ¹². In the laws of Ethelred the fyrde is ordered to take place as often as there be need, and the ſcyp-fyrdrunga or naval expedition was directed to be ſo diligently prepared as to be ready every year ſoon after Eaſter. It is added, that if any depart from the fyrde where the king himſelf is, both his life and goods ſhould be the forfeit; if he in any other caſe quitted it, he was fined one hundred and twenty ſhillings ¹³.

⁹ Doomsday-book, con. Herefordſhire.

¹⁰ Ib. Leedeſtreſhire.

¹¹ Ib. Warwicſhire.

¹² Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 23.

¹³ Ib. p. 109.

BOOK In one of the grants it is mentioned that a land-
III. owner had lost his rus of ten cassatos, because he had rebelled with the king's soldiers in his expedition, and had committed much rapine and other crimes ¹⁴.

THE other two great services to which land was generally liable were, the construction or reparation of bridges and fortresses or walls. These are enjoined to be done in almost every grant. In Doomsday-book it is said of Chester, that the prepositus should cause one man for every hide to come to rebuild the wall and bridge of the city, or if the man should fail to come, his lord was to pay forty shillings ¹⁵.

BESIDES these three great services, which later writers have called the *trinoda necessitas*, there were many other burdens to which the landed interest was more or less liable in the hands of the sub-proprietors.

A CAREFUL provision is made in many grants against royal tributes and impositions, and those of the great and powerful. In one it is mentioned that the king should not require his pasture, nor the entertainment of those men called *Fæsting-men*, nor of those who carry hawks, falcons, horses, or dogs ¹⁶. In another it is agreed that the wood should not be cut for the buildings of either king or prince ¹⁷. It is elsewhere expressed that the land

¹⁴ MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 132.

¹⁵ Doomsday, Cestrefcire.

¹⁶ MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 104. Thorpe R. R. 22.

¹⁷ MS. Claud.

should be free from the pasture and refecton of C H A P.
III. those men called in Saxon *Walhfæreld*, and their feasting, and of all Englishmen or foreigners, noble and ignoble ¹⁸. This burden, of being compelled to entertain others, is mentioned in several grants. In one, the pasture of the king's horses and grooms ¹⁹, and of his swine, which was called *fearn leswe* ²⁰, is noticed.

It is probable that these royal impositions attached only to the lands which were or had been of the royal demesne. The pecuniary payments which resulted to the king from the landed estates in England are enumerated in *Doomsday-book*.

WHEN the original proprietors aliened or demised their lands to others, they annexed a variety of conditions to their grants, which subsequent transfers either repeated or discharged. Some of these may be stated. One contract was, that the person to whom the land was given should plough, sow, reap, and gather in the harvest of two acres of it for the use of the church ²¹. Another was, that the tenant should go with all his craft twice a-year, once to plough and at the other time to reap, for the grantors ²². Another grant reserves two bushels of pure grain. Another, the right of feeding one hundred swine. Another exacts the ploughing and reaping of a field ²³. In others a ship, in others

¹⁸ Heming Chart. 31.

¹⁹ Heming. 58.

²⁰ Ib. 86.

²¹ Ib. 134.

²² Ib. 189.

²³ Ib. 144. p. 174. 208. I quote Hearne's edition of this book; but cannot avoid saying that the Saxon passages are badly printed. Either the transcript was made, or the press set and corrected, by a person ignorant of Saxon.

BOOK lead, is reserved²⁴. Offa gave the land of twenty
 III. manentium to the church at Worcester, on the
 terms of receiving a specified gafol from the pro-
 duce of the land²⁵. The services and customs at-
 tached to the possession of burghs, houses, and
 lands, which are mentioned in the Domesday Sur-
 vey, may be consulted as giving much illustration
 to this topic. Sometimes an imposition was made
 on the land of a province by general consent.
 Thus, for building Saint Edmund's church, four
 denarii were put annually on every carucata of
 earth, by the consent of the landholders²⁶. The
 ecclesiastical duties attached to land will be noticed
 under the head of Religion.

It is said by Lord Coke, that the first kings of
 this realm had all the lands of England in demesne,
 and that they reserved to themselves the grand ma-
 nors and royalties, and enfeoffed the barons of the
 realm with the remainder for the defence of the
 realm, with such jurisdiction as the courts baron
 now have, and instituted the freeholders to be judges
 of the court baron²⁷. Much of this statement may
 be true; but it can be only made inferentially, for
 no positive information has descended to modern
 times of what lands the Saxon chieftains possessed
 themselves, nor how they disposed of them. We
 may recollect that, according to the laws of the
 Britons in Wales, in the ninth century, all the land
 of the kingdom was declared to belong to the

²⁴ Dugdale, Mon. i. p. 19, 20. 141.

²⁵ Ib. 101.

²⁶ Dugd. Mon. i. p. 291.

²⁷ Coke on Littleton, 58.

king²⁸; and we may safely believe that the same law prevailed while the Britons occupied the whole island. C H A P.
III.

IT is highly probable that the Saxon war-cyning succeeded to all the rights of the monarch he dispossessed, and in rewarding his companions and warriors with the division of the spoil, it can be as little doubted that from those to whom the cyning or the witena gave the lands of the British landholders, a certain portion of military service was exacted, in order to maintain the conquest they had achieved. This was indispensable, as nearly a century elapsed before the struggle was completely terminated between the Britons and the invaders. It was also a law among the Britons that all should be compelled to build castles when the king pleased²⁹. But that the lands in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon proprietors were subject to the fyrd as a general and inevitable burden, and that this military service was rigorously exacted, and its neglect severely punished, and was to be performed when called for by the king, the facts already adduced have abundantly proved. Enough has been also said to shew that custom, or the will of individuals, had imposed on many estates personal services, pecuniary rents, and other troublesome exactions. Hence there can be no doubt that the most essential part of what has been called the feudal system actually prevailed among the Anglo-

²⁸ *Leges Wallicæ* Hoel, chap. 337.

²⁹ *ib.* p. 165.

BOOK Saxons. The term vassals was also used by them.

III. After, the friend of Alfred, has the expression *nobilibus vassallis* ³⁰, and grants of kings to their vassals are not unfrequent.

THE Anglo-Saxon proprietors of land in demesne were, in many respects, the little sovereigns of their territories, from the legal privileges which, according to the grants, and to the customs of the times, they possessed and were entitled to exercise. Their privileges consisted of their civil and criminal jurisdictions; their pecuniary profits and gatsols, and their power over the servile part of their tenantry and domestics.

It is an appendage to many grants of land that the possessors should have the *fac and soc*, or a certain extent of civil and criminal jurisdiction. Thus Edward the Confessor gave to the abbot of Abendon *face and socne*, toll and team, *infangene-theof*, *binnan burgan*, and *butan burgan*; *ham socne grithbrice* and *foresteal* ³¹. Similar privileges are given, with many additions, in various grants, and they conveyed, not only the right of holding courts within the limits of the estate to determine the causes and offences arising within it, but also the fines and payments, or part of them, with which the crimes were punished. In some grants these fines were shared with the king ³². Sometimes the liberty of holding markets and of receiving toll is

³⁰ After. vit. Alfredi, p. 33.

³¹ MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 130.

³² Ib. p. 104.

allowed, and sometimes an exemption from toll. ^{C H A P.}
^{III.}
There seems to be no doubt that the Anglo-Saxons took lands by inheritance. The peculiar modes of inheritance, called gavelkind, where all the children inherited, and borough-english, where the youngest son was the heir, have been referred to the Saxon times.

CHAP. IV.

Their Conveyances.

B O O K
III. **W**E have several of their grants of land without any pecuniary consideration; of their conveyances on purchase; of their deeds of exchange; their testamentary devises, and their leases. These are all short and simple—as short and as simple as they might always be made if the ingenuity of mankind were less directed to evade their legal contracts by critical discussions of their construction.

THE Saxon conveyances consisted principally of these things :

1st, THE grantor's name and title are stated. In the older charters the description is very simple. It is more full in those of a later period; but the grants of Edgar are generally distinguished from those of other kings, by a pompous and inflated commencement.

2d, A RECITAL is usually inserted, in many instances preceding the donor's name. Sometimes it states his title, or some circumstance connected with it. Sometimes the recital is on the brevity and uncertainty of life, and on the utility of committing deeds to writing—sometimes of the charitable or friendly feelings which occasioned the grant; and one recital states that the former land-boc or conveyance had been destroyed by fire, and that the owner had applied for new ones.

3d, THE conveying words follow, which are C H A P.
IV.
usually "Do et concedo; donare decrevimus; concedimus et donamus; dabo; trado;" or other terms of equivalent import either of Latin or Saxon.

4th, THE person's name then occurs to whom the land is granted. The name is sometimes given without any addition, and sometimes the quality or parentage is simply mentioned, as Eadredo, Liaban fili Birgwines; meo fideli ministro Æthelwende; Æthelnotho præfecto meo; Ealdberhto ministro meo, atque Selethrythe forori tuæ, &c.

5th, WHAT lawyers call the consideration of a deed is commonly inserted. This is sometimes pro intimo caritatis affectu, pro ejus humili obedientia, pro redemptione animæ meæ, and such like. Often it is for money paid, or a valuable consideration.

6th, ANOTHER circumstance frequently mentioned in the royal grants is, that it was done with the consent of the witena or nobles, or in other grants of the superior lord.

7th, THE premises are then mentioned. They are described shortly in the body of the grant by their measured or estimated quantity of land, and the name of the place where they were situate. Some general words then follow, often very like those annexed to the description of premises in our modern conveyances. The grants shew that the land of the country was in a state of cultivated divisions, and was known by its divisional appellations. Sometimes the name given to it is expressed to be that by which it was locally known among the in-

B O O K inhabitants of the district. At others the name is ex-
 III. pressed to be its ancient or well-known denomina-
 tion. The appellation, however, is usually Saxon; though in some few places it is obviously British.

WHEN estates were large they comprehended many pieces of land of various descriptions. With the arable land, meadow, marsh, wood, and fisheries, were often intended to be passed. In our times, lest the words expressly used to indicate the land conveyed should not include all the property included in the purchase, words of large and general import are added, without any specific idea that such things are actually attached. Such expressions occur in the Saxon charters. Thus, in a grant dated in 679, after the land is mentioned, we have "with all things pertaining to it; fields, meadows, marshes, woods, fenns, and all fisheries to the same land belonging." In the Anglo-Saxon grants of a more recent date, the general words are nearly as numerous as in our present deeds.

BESIDES the first description of the place, and the general words, there are commonly added, at the end of the grant, the particular boundaries of the land. The grants are, for the most part, in Latin, and the boundaries in Saxon.

8th, THE nature of the tenure is then subjoined, whether for life or lives, or in perpetuity, or whether any reversion is to ensue.

9th, THE services from which the land is liberated, and those to which it is to continue subject, are then expressed.

10th, **SOME** exhortations are then inserted to **C H A P.**
others not to disturb the donation, and some im- **IV.**
precations on those who attempt it.

11th, **THE** date, the place of signature, if a royal grant, and the witnesses, usually conclude it. The date is sometimes in the beginning.

IT may be here remarked, that the Saxon deeds had no wax seals. These were introduced by the Norman conquest¹.

THE divisions of land mentioned in the Saxon charters are marked and distinguished by precise boundaries. We will mention some of them, as they will shew, very satisfactorily, the agricultural state of the country. They sometimes occur concisely in Latin; but it was far more usual to express them in Saxon, even in Latin charters. This was perhaps that they might be more generally and exactly known, and, in case of dispute, easier proved. The juries, gemots, and witnesses of the day might mistake a Latin description, but not a vernacular one.

IN 866 the boundaries of two manentes run thus:
“ From Sture on the Honey-brook up behind the brook on the old hedge; along the hedge on the old way; along the way on the great street; along the street on four boundaries, then so to Calcbrook, along the brook; then so to Horse-brook, along the brook; then so to the ditch, along the ditch to the Sture again; on Sture to the ditch that is called Thredeftreo, along the ditch on Heafecan-

¹ Ingulf. p. 70. 3 Gale, 409.

B O O K hill; from Heafecan-hill to the ditch, along the
 III. ditch to Wenforth, along Wenforth, then again
 on the Sture²."

"FIRST the Icenan at Brom-bridge, up and along the way to Hlide-gate; thence along the valley to Beamstead; then by the hedge to Searnegles-ford; then up by Swetheling to Sow-brook; then forth by the boundary to Culesfield, forth by the right measured to the Steed lea, so to the Kids-field; then to the boundary valley, so to the Tæppe-lea; so on to Sheep-lea, then to Broad-bramble, so to the old Gibbet-place, then on to the deep dell; then by the wooden boundary mark to Back-gate; thence by the mark to the old fold; thence north and east to the military path, and by the military path to the Stocks of the high ford, so by the mere of the Hide-stream to Icenan; then up by the stream and so to the east of Wordige; thence by the right mark to the thorn of the mere; thence to the red cross, so on by the Ealderman's mark; from the mark then it cometh to Icenan up by the stream to the ford of Alders; thence to Kid-burn, up and along the burn to the military path, so to the Turngate within the fish water to Sheepswick; then by the right mere to the Elderford, so to the Broad-valley, then to the Milk-valley, so to the Meal-hill, and along the way to the mark of the Forester's, south of the boundary to the hay-meadow, then to Clæanfield, so on Copper-valley, forth by the hedge on the angle field; then forth on the

² Smith's App. Bede, 770.

Icenan north of Steneford, so with the stream till it cometh again on Brombridge³.”

CHAP.
IV.

“THESE are the boundaries of the land to Cero-tescege (Chertsey), and to Thorpe; That is, first on the Waymouth up and along the way to Way-bridge; from Way-bridge within the eel mill-ditch; midward from the ditch to the old military street, and along the street on Woburn-bridge, and along the burn on the great willow; from the great willow along the lake on the pool above Crocford; from the head of this pool right to the elder; from the elder right on the military street; along the street to Curten-staple; from Curten-staple along the street to the hoar-thorn; from the thorn to the oak tree; from the oak tree to the three hills; from the three hills to the Sihtran; from the Sihtran to the limitary brook; from the limitary brook to Exlæpefurn; from Exlæpefurn to the hoar maple; from the hoar maple to the three trees; from the three trees along the deep brook right to the Wallgate; from the Wallgate to the clear pool; from the clear pool to the foul brook; from the foul brook to the black willow; from the black willow right to the Wallgate, and along the Thames to the other part of Mixten-ham in the water between the hill island and Mixten-ham, and along the water to Nettle-island; from that island and along the Thames about Oxlake to Bere-hill, and so forth along the Thames to Hamen-island; and so along the middle of the stream to the mouth of the Way⁴.”

³ Dugd. Mon. 37.

⁴ Ib. 76.

B O O K

III.

In 743 these boundaries occur: "First from Turcan Spring's head and along the street on Cynelms-stone on the mill-way, then and along the ridge on Hart-ford; thence and along the streams on the city ford on the fosse on the speaking place; thence on Turcan-valley on the seven springs, midward of the springs to Bale's-hill, south, then on the chalk-wall; thence again on Turcan-valley, and along again on the Turcan Spring's head^s."

"FIRST from Thames mouth and along the Thames in Wynnabæce's mouth; from Wynnabæce to Woodymoor; from Woodymoor to the wet ditch; from the wet ditch to the beach, and from the beach to the old dike; from the old dike to the sedge-moor; from the sedge-moor to the head of the pool, and along to Thorn-bridge; from Thorn-bridge to Kadera-pool; from Kadera-pool to Beka-bridge; from Beka-bridge to the forepart of the Hipes-moor; from that moor within Coforth-brook; from the brook within the hedge; after the hedge to the hillock called Kett; from Kett to the Barrows; from the Barrows to Lawern; from Lawern into the ditch; and after the ditch to the Ship-oak; and from the Ship-oak to the great aspin, and so in to the reedy slough; from the slough within the Barrows; from the Barrows to the way of the five oaks, and after that way within the five oaks; from the oaks to the three boundaries; from the three boundaries to the bourn of the lake; from that bourn to the

^s Heming. Chart. 57.

mile-stone; from that stone to the hoar apple-tree; ^{C H A P.}
from that apple-tree within Doferie; after Doferie ^{IV.} }
to Severn, and along the Severn to the Thames
mouth⁶.

In one of the boundaries a wolf-pit occurs⁷.

⁶ Heming. Chart. 75.

⁷ 3 Gale, 520.

CHAP. V.

Some Particulars of the Names of Places in Middlesex and London, in the Saxon Times.

BOOK
III.

IT appears from Doomſday-book that in the Saxon times, the county of Middleſex had been divided into hundreds, which were diſtinguiſhed by the names that they now bear, with ſmall variations of pronunciation or orthography.

Doomſday Names for the
Hundreds of Middleſex.

Modern Names.

Oſulueſtone,

Offulſton.

Gara,

Gore.

Helethorne,

Elthorne.

Spelethorne,

Spelthorne.

Adelmetone,

Edmonton.

Honeſlaw,

Hounſlow.

AMONG the places mentioned in the county in Doomſday-book, we may eaſily diſcern the following ancient and modern names to correſpond :

Holeburne,

Holborn.

Stibenhede,

Stepney.

Fuleham,

Fulham.

Tueverde,

Twyford.

Welleſdone,

Wiſſdon.

Totehele,

Tothil.

Scepertone,

Shepperton.

Hochefſtone,

Hoxton.

Neutone,

Newington.

Panerafs,	Pancrafs.
Draitone,	Drayton.
Hameftede,	Hamftead.
Stanes,	Staines.
Sunneberie,	Sunbury.
Greneforde,	Greenford.
Hanewelle,	Hanwell.
Covelie,	Cowley.
Handone,	Hendon.
Hermodeſwarde,	Harmondſworth.
Tiburne,	Tyburn.
Haneworde,	Hanworth.
Hardintone,	Harlington.
Hillendone,	Hillingdon.
Ticheham,	Twickenham.
Leleham,	Laleham.
Exeforde,	Uxbridge.
Bedefunt,	Bedfont.
Feltenham,	Feltham.
Stanmere,	Stanmore.
Northala,	Northall.
Adelmetone,	Edmonton.
Eneffelde,	Enfield.
Riflepe,	Ruiſlip.
Chingefberie,	Kingsbury.
Stanwelle,	Stanwell.
Hamntone,	Hampton.
Hergoteftane,	Heftone.
Cranforde,	Cranford.
Chelched,	Chelſea.
Cheneſita,	Kenſington.
Iſeldone,	Iſlington.

Toteham,
Hefa,Tottenham.
Hayes.

THE local denominations by which the various places in England are now known seem to have been principally imposed by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Most of them, in their composition, betray their Saxon origin ; and whoever will take the trouble to compare the names in Doomsday-book, which prevailed in the island during the time of the Confessor, with the present appellations of the same places, will find that the greatest number of them correspond. The hundreds in the county of Suffex were sixty-three, and still remain so : of these, thirty-eight bore the same names as now, and of the villæ or maneria, which are about three hundred and forty-five, there are two hundred and thirty with appellations like their present.

THE following list will shew the correspondencies between the ancient and modern names of the counties which occur in Doomsday-book :

Chenth.	Midelfexe.
Sudfexe.	Hertfordscire.
Sudrie.	Bockinghamscire.
Hantescire.	Oxenefordscire.
Berrochescire,	Glowecesterscire.
or	Wirecesterscire.
Berchescire.	Herefordscire.
Wiltescire.	Grentebrigefscire.
Dorfete.	Huntedunscire.
Sumerfete.	Bedefordscire.
Devenescire.	Northantonescire.
Cornvalgie.	Ledefcestrescire.

Warwicſcire.	Roteland.
Staffordſcire.	Eurviſcire.
Sciropſcire.	Lincolſcire.
Ceſtreſcire.	Exſeſſa.
Derbyſcire.	Nordfolc.
Snotinghamſcire.	Sudfolc.

C H A P.
V.

LONDON is mentioned in Bede as the metropolis of the Eaſt Saxons in the year 604, lying on the banks of the Thames, “the emporium of many “people coming by ſea and land ¹.”

IN a grant, dated 889, a court in London is conveyed “at the ancient ſtony edifice called by “the citizens hwæt mundes ſtone, from the public “ſtreet to the wall of the ſame city ².” From this we learn that ſo early as 889 the walls of London exiſted.

IN 857 we find a conveyance of a place in London called Ceolmundinge haga, not far from the Weſt Gate ³. This Weſt Gate may have been either Temple Bar or Holborn Bars.

ETHELBALD, the Mercian king, gave a court in London, between two ſtreets called Tiddberti-ſtreet and Savin-ſtreet ⁴.

SNORRE, the Icelander, mentions the battle in Southwark in the time of Ethelred II. He ſays the Danes took London. On the other ſide of the Thames was a great market, called Sudrvirki (Southwark), which the Danes fortified with many defences ; with a high and broad ditch, and a ram-

¹ Bede, l. 2. c. 3.

² Hem. 44.

³ Heming. 42.

⁴ Dugd. Mon. 138.

BOOK part of stone, wood, and turf. The English under
 III. Ethelred attacked these in vain.

THE bridge between the city and Southwark was broad enough for two vehicles to pass together. On the sides of the bridge, castles and breast works were erected fronting the river. The bridge was sustained by piles fixed in the bed of the river. Olave, the ally of Ethelred, assailed the bridge and succeeded in forcing it ⁵.

ETHELBALD grants the vectigal, or custom, paid by one ship in the port of London to the church of Rochester ⁶.

⁵ Snorre, excerpted in Johnstone's *Celtic Scand*, p. 89. 92.

⁶ Thorpe Reg. Roff. 14.

C H A P. VI.

Law Suits about Land.

WE have some account of their legal disputes C H A P.
VI.
about landed property in some of their documents, from which we will select a few particulars.

ONE charter states, that Wynfleth led her witnesses before the king. An archbishop, a bishop, an ealdorman, and the king's mother, were there. They were all to witness that Alfrith had given her the land. The king sent the writ by the archbishop, and by those who had witnessed it, to Leofwin, and desired that men should be assembled to the shire-gemot. The king then sent his seal to this gemot by an abbot, and greeted all the witan there. Two bishops, an abbot, and all the shire were there. The king commanded to be done that which was thought to be most right. The archbishop sent his testimony, and the bishop; they told her she must claim the land for herself. Then she claimed her possessions, with the aid of the king's mother. An abbot, a priest, an etheling, eight men, two abbesses, six other ladies, and many other good thegns and women were there. She obtained her suit¹.

IN another transaction, a bishop paid fifteen pounds for two hides to Lefsius and his wife at

¹ MS. Cott. Aug. 2. p. 45.

B O O K Cambridge. Ten pounds of the money were paid
 III. before several witnesses. A day was appointed for the other five pounds. They made another convention between them, which was, that Lefsius and his wife should give the fifteen pounds for the five hides at Cleie, with the condition that the bishops should give, besides, a silver cup of forty shillings which the father of Lefsius, on his death-bed, bequeathed to the bishop. This agreement being made, they exchanged all the live and dead stock on the two lands. But before they had returned to the bishop those ten pounds at Cleie, king Edgar died. On his death Lefsius and his wife attempted to annul their agreement with the bishop, sometimes offered him the ten pounds which he had paid them, and sometimes denied that they owed any thing. Thus they thought to recover the land which they had sold; but the bishop overcame them with his witnesses. Presuming on success, Lefsius seized other lands. This violence occasioned these lands to remain two years without either ploughing or sowing or any cultivation. At last a generale placitum was held at London, whither the dukes, the princes, the satrapæ, the pleaders, and the lawyers, flowed from every part. The bishop then impleaded Lefsius, and before all expounded his cause, and the injury he had sustained.

THIS affair being well and properly and openly discussed by all, they decreed that the lands which Lefsius had forcibly taken should be restored to the bishop, and that Lefsius should make good all the loss and the mund, and forfeit to the king his were for the violence. Eight days afterwards they met

again at Northampton, all the country having assembled, they exposed the same cause again before all; and it was determined in the same manner in which it had been adjudged at London. Every one then with oath on the cross returned to the bishop the lands which had been violently torn from him.

Thus far the narration gives no account of the two and the five hides about which the controversy began. But it is immediately afterwards mentioned, that soon after Lefsius died. On his death the bishop and the alderman and the primates of Northamptonshire, and the procures of East Anglia had a placitum at Walmesford in eight hundreds. It was there determined, among other things, that the widow of Lefsius and his heirs ought to compensate for the above-mentioned violence, as he ought to have done if he had lived; and they appreciated the injury which the bishop had sustained at one hundred pounds. The aforesaid matron, supported with the good-wishes of all the optimates, humbly requested the bishop to have mercy on her, and that she might commute her were, and that of her sons, for one hundred shillings, which the bishop was about to give her for the two hides at Dunham. The bishop was more benevolent to her than she expected; for he not only remitted to her the money in which she had been condemned, but paid her the hundred shillings which she had proposed to relinquish. He also gave her seven pounds for the crop on the land at Dunham².

A PIECE of water was leased at a rent of two thousand eels. The tenants unjustly possessed them-

² Hist. Eli. 3 Gale, 468, 469.

B O O K
III.

selves of some land of the monastery, without the adjudication or legal permission of the citizens and the hundred. The ealderman came to Ely, and Begmund and others were called for this cause, and summoned to the placitum of the citizens and of the hundred several times, but never came. The abbot did not therefore desist, but renewed his claim at the placita within the city and without, and oftentimes made his complaint. At length the ealderman held at Cambridge a great placitum of the citizens and hundreds before twenty-four judges, under Thorningefeld, near Maideneburge. The abbot related how Begmund and others had unjustly seized the land, and though often summoned to the placitum, would never come. Then they all adjudged that the abbot should have his land, pool, and fishery, and that Begmund and the others should pay their fish to the abbot for six years, and should give their forfeiture to the king. They also decreed that if this was not performed willingly, they should be justified in the seizure of the offender's property. The ealderman also commanded that Oschetel, Oswy, of Becce, and Godere, of Ely, should go round the land, lead the abbot over it, and do all this, which was performed accordingly³.

IN another dispute, on the non-performance of an agreement for the sale of land, the ealderman commanded the defendant to be summoned, and, going to Dittune, began there to narrate the causes and complaints, the agreements and their violation, by the testimony of many legal men. The defend-

³ Hist. Eli. 3 Gale, 478.

ant denied the whole. They ordered him to purge C H A P.
VI. himself by the requisite oath; but as neither he nor they who ought to have sworn with him could do this, the cause was adjudged against him, and this judgment was afterwards confirmed at Cambridge⁴.

As many curious particulars of their legal customs appear in these narrations, we will add another.

WLSTAN forfeited some land, which the king had purchased and sold to a bishop. About this time a great gemot was appointed at Witlesford, of the ealderman and his brothers, and the bishop and the widow of Wlstan, and all the better counsellors of the county of Cambridge. When they all had sat down, Wenfius arose and claimed the land, and said that he and his relations had been unjustly deprived of the land, as he had received for it no consideration, neither in land or money. Having heard this plea, the ealderman asked if there were any one present who knew how Wlstan had acquired that land. Alfric of Wicham answered, that Wlstan had bought that land of Wenfius for eight pounds, and he appealed to the eight hundreds on the south side of Cambridge as witnesses. He said Wlstan gave Wenfius the eight pounds in two payments, the last of which he had sent by Leofwin, son of Adulf, who gave it to him in a purse before the eight hundreds where the land lay. Having heard these things they adjudged the land to the bishop, and they directed Wenfius or his relations to look to the heirs of Wlstan if he wanted more money for his land⁵.

⁴ Hist. Eli. 3 Gale, 484.

⁵ Ibid.

CHAP. VII.

*Their Denominations of Land.*BOOK
III.

IN the charters we find various names for the quantities of land conveyed. These are, hidæ, cassati, mansæ, manentes, aratrum, fulunga.

THE cassati, mansæ, the manentes, the aratrum, and the fulunga, appear to have expressed the same meaning which the word hide signified.

THAT the cassati and the mansæ were the same appears from several grants; thus, ten manfas are in another part of the same grants called ten cassatos¹; and thirty manfas, thirty cassatos². So ten cassatos, when mentioned again, are styled ten manfos or manfas³.

IN other grants hides are stated as synonymous with cassatos. Thus, ten cassatos are, in the same grant, called ten hides⁴, and twenty cassatos twenty hides⁵. In other grants the land, which, in the first part of the document, is enumerated as hides, is afterwards termed cassatos. Thus, 50 hides fifty cassatos⁶, seven hides seven cassatos⁷, five hides five cassatos⁸.

THE grants also identify the expressions mansæ and mansi with hide. A charter of 947 conveys twenty mansæ, "quod anglice dicitur twenty hides⁹." In another, seven hides are also called

¹ Cotton MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 195.

² Ib. p. 119. 195.

³ Ib. p. 131, 132. ⁴ MS. Claud. c. 9.

⁵ Ib. p. 102. 194.

⁶ Ib. p. 118.

⁷ Ib. p. 121.

⁸ Ib. p. 130.

⁹ MS. Claud. B. 6. p. 37.

seven manſæ ¹⁰. One manſa is one hide ¹¹, and five manſæ five hides ¹². C H A P.
VIL

IN one grant, the expreſſions fourteen manſi-unculæ, and forty jugeribus, are identified with fourteen hides and forty acres ¹³.

ALL theſe authorities prove, that the hide, the caſſatus, and the manſa, were ſimilar designations of land. In one ancient MS. there is a note in the margin, in the ſame hand-writing with the body, thus, “No. qd. hide caſſati et manſe idem ſunt ¹⁴.”

OTHER grants identify the ſulunga with the preceding. Thus, one conveys ſex manſas quod Cantigenæ dicunt ſix ſulunga ¹⁵. Another mentions the land of three aratorum as three ſulong ¹⁶. Another ſays twelve manſas “quod Cantigenæ dicunt “twelf ſulunga ¹⁷.” Two caſſati are alſo called two ſulunga ¹⁸.

THE hide ſeems to have contained one hundred and twenty acres. In one hiſtorical narration of ancient grants an hide is ſo defined: “unam hydam per ſexies viginti acras ¹⁹,” two hides are afterwards mentioned as twelve times twenty arable acres ²⁰.

IN Domeſday-book we find hides and carucatae mentioned ²¹. Carucata implies ſo much land as,

¹⁰ MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 130.

¹¹ Heming. Chart. p. 150.

¹² Ib. p. 143. 182, 183.

¹³ MS. Claud. B. 6. p. 75.

¹⁴ MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 113.

¹⁵ MS. Chart of the late Mr. Aſtle, No. 23.

¹⁶ Ib. No. 7. ¹⁷ Ib. No. 24, and Thorpe Reg. Roſſ. 189.

¹⁸ MS. Chart Aug. 2. p. 68. ¹⁹ 3 Gale Script. p. 472.

²⁰ Ib. 475. 481.

²¹ The word is uſually abbreviated. In p. 77, and ſome other places, it occurs at full length.

B O O K a single plough could work during a year²². This
 III. ancient survey also contains acres, leucæ, and qua-
 rentenæ, among its terms for expressing the quan-
 tities of land.

THE following measures of land occur in the Anglo-Saxon laws; three mila, three furlong, 3 æcera bræde, 9 fota, 9 scefta munda, 9 bere corna²³, express the extent to which the king's peace was to reach.

²² See Du Cange Gloss. Med. Lat. i. p. 859.

²³ Wilkin's Leges Sax. p. 63.

BOOK IV.

The Government of the Anglo-Saxons.

CHAP. I.

The King's Election and Coronation.

IN treating of the Anglo-Saxon Government, it ^{CHAP. I.} will be proper to begin with the cyning, or king, who, though he did not concentrate in himself the despotism of an Eastern monarch, was yet elevated far above the rest of the nation in dignity, property, and power.

THE witenagemot may then be considered, and afterwards the official dignities respected by the nation. This part of our subject will be closed by a review of the contributions levied from the people.

THE first cynings of the Anglo-Saxons seem to have been their war-kings; continued for life, and the crown was not hereditary, but elective. Many authors, both in the Anglo-Saxon times and afterwards, when speaking of their accessions, express them in terms which signify election. Thus, the contemporary author of Dunstan's life says of Edwin: "after him arose Eadwig, son of king Edmund, in age a youth, and with little of the prudence of reigning; *elected*, he filled up the number and names of the kings over both people."

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It proceeds afterwards to mention that, abandoning Eadwig, they chose (eligere) Eadgar to be king ¹.

It was the witenagemot who elected the cyning. The council, in 785, directs that "lawful kings be chosen by the priests and elders of the people ²." The author of the life of Dunstan says, "when at the time appointed he was by all the chiefs of the English by general election to be anointed and consecrated king ³." Ethelred recites himself in a character that all the optimates had unanimously chosen his brother Edward to rule the helm of the kingdom ⁴. Alfred is stated to have been chosen by the ducibus et presulibus of all the nation ⁵. Edward and Athelstan are also described as a primatis electus ⁶.

SOMETIMES the election is mentioned as if other persons besides the witan were concerned in it. Thus, the Saxon Chronicle says that after Ethelred's death all the witan who were in London, and *the citizens*, chose Edmund to cinge ⁷. It says afterwards, that when Canute died there was a gemot of all the witan at Oxford, and earl Leofric and most of the thegns north of the Thames, and *the lishmen* at London chose Harold. The earl Godwin, and all the yldestan men in West Saxony, opposed it as long as they could ⁸.

¹ MS. Cleop. B. 13. p. 76. 78.

² Spelm. Concil. p. 296.

³ MS. Cleop. p. 76.

⁴ MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 123.

⁵ Simeon. Dunel. 126, 127.

⁶ Ethelwerd, 847. Malmfb. 48. ⁷ Sax. Chron. p. 148.

⁸ Sax. Chr. 154.

BUT from the comparison of all the passages on C H A P.
I.
this subject, the result seems to be, that the king was elected at the witenagemot held on the demise of the preceding sovereign.

THAT the accession of the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns was not governed by the rules of hereditary succession is manifest from their history. The dynasties of Wessex were more steady and regular than any others in the octarchy. Yet the son of its third king, Cealwin, did not succeed, though he existed. The son of Ceolwulf was equally passed by. Ceadwalla left two sons, yet Ina acceded to their prejudice; and, what is singular, Ina was elected king, though his father was alive. Some other irregularities of the same sort took place before Egbert, and continued after him.

ETHELBERT, the second son of Ethelwulf, left sons, and yet Ethelred succeeded in their stead. They were still excluded, when Alfred and his son received the crown. So Athelstan, though illegitimate, was chosen in preference to his legitimate brothers. On Edgar's death, both his eldest and youngest sons were made candidates for the crown, though Edward was preferred; and though Edmund Ironside left a son, his brother, Edward the Confessor, after the Danish reigns, was preferred before him. To the exclusion of the same prince, Harold the Second obtained his election.

BUT though the Saxon witan continued the custom of election, and sometimes broke the regular line of descent, by crowning the collateral branches, yet in the greatest number of instances they followed the rule of hereditary succession. Their

B O O K choice of the cyning in Wesssex, even when the heir
 IV. was disregarded, was always made from the family of its first founder Cerdic, and usually from the kinsmen of the preceding sovereign. The Norman conquest terminated the power of the witenagemot, and changed the crown from an elective to an hereditary succession—a change highly auspicious to the national prosperity.

THE coronation of Ethelred the Second, and his coronation oath, has been transmitted to us in a MS. yet extant in the Cotton Library[?]. The ceremony was thus ordered :

“ Two bishops, with the witan, shall lead him to the church, and the clergy, with the bishops, shall sing the anthem ‘ Firmetur manus tua,’ and the Gloria Patri.

“ WHEN the king arrives at the church he shall prostrate himself before the altar, and the Te Deum shall be chanted.

“ WHEN this is finished the king shall be raised from the ground, and, *having been chosen* by the bishops and people, shall, with a clear voice before God and all the people, promise that he will observe these three rules.”

The Coronation Oath.

“ IN the name of Christ, I promise three things to the Christian people, my subjects :

“ FIRST, That the church of God and all the Christian people shall always preserve true peace under our auspices.

“ SECOND, That I will interdict rapacity and all iniquities to every condition.

“THIRD, That I will command equity and
 “mercy in all judgments, that to me and to you
 “the gracious and merciful God may extend his
 “mercy.”

“ALL shall say Amen. These prayers shall fol-
 “low, which the bishops are separately to repeat.

“WE invoke thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty
 “ty and Eternal God, that this thy servant (whom
 “by the wisdom of thy divine dispensations from
 “the beginning of his formation to this present
 “day, thou hast permitted to increase, rejoicing
 “in the flower of youth) enriched with the
 “gift of thy piety, and full of the grace of truth,
 “thou mayest cause to be always advancing,
 “day by day, to better things before God and
 “men. That, rejoicing in the bounty of supernal
 “grace, he may receive the throne of supreme
 “power, and defended on all sides from his ene-
 “mies by the wall of thy mercy, he may de-
 “serve to govern happily the people committed to
 “him with the peace of propitiation and the strength
 “of victory.”

Second Prayer.

“O GOD, who directest thy people in strength,
 “and governeest them with love, give this thy ser-
 “vant such a spirit of wisdom with the rule of
 “discipline, that, devoted to thee with his whole
 “heart, he may remain in his government always
 “fit, and that by thy favour the security of this
 “church may be preserved in his time, and Chris-
 “tian devotion may remain in tranquillity; so that,
 “persevering in good works, he may attain, under
 “thy guidance, to thine everlasting kingdom.”

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AFTER a third prayer, the consecration of the king by the bishop takes place, who holds the crown over him, saying,

“ALMIGHTY Creator, Everlasting Lord, Governor of heaven and earth, the maker and disposer of angels and men, King of kings and Lord of lords, who made thy faithful servant Abraham to triumph over his enemies, and gavest manifold victories to Moses and Joshua, the prelates of thy people, and didst raise David, thy lowly child, to the summit of the kingdom, and didst free him from the mouth of the lion and the paws of the beast, and from Goliath, and from the malignant sword of Saul and his enemies; who didst endow Solomon with the ineffable gift of wisdom and peace: look down propitiouſly on our humble prayers, and multiply the gifts of thy blessing on this thy servant, whom, with humble devotion, *we have chosen* to be king of the Angles and the Saxons. Surround him every where with the right hand of thy power, that, strengthened with the faithfulness of Abraham, the meekness of Moses, the courage of Joshua, the humility of David, and the wisdom of Solomon, he may be well-pleasing to thee in all things, and may always advance in the way of justice with inoffensive progress.

“MAY he so nourish, teach, defend, and instruct the church of all the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, with the people annexed to it, and so potently and royally rule it against all visible and invisible enemies, that the royal throne of the Angles and Saxons may not

"desert his sceptre, but that he may keep their C H A P.
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 "minds in the harmony of the pristine faith and
 "peace! May he, supported by the due subjec-
 "tion of the people, and glorified by worthy love,
 "through a long life, descend to govern and esta-
 "blish it with the united mercy of thy glory! De-
 "fended with the helmet and invincible shield of
 "thy protection, and surrounded with celestial
 "arms, may he obtain the triumph of victory over
 "all his enemies, and bring the terror of his power
 "on all the unfaithful, and shed peace on those
 "joyfully fighting for thee! Adorn him with the
 "virtues with which thou hast decorated thy faith-
 "ful servants; place him high in his dominion,
 "and anoint him with the oil of the grace of thy
 "Holy Spirit!"

"HERE he shall be ANOINTED with oil; and
 "this anthem shall be sung:

"AND Zadoc the priest, and Nathan the pro-
 "phet, anointed Solomon king in Sion, and, ap-
 "proaching him, they said, May the king live for
 "ever."

AFTER two appropriate prayers, the SWORD was
 given to him, with this invocation:

"God! who governest all things, both in heaven
 "and in earth, by thy Providence, be propitious
 "to our most Christian king, that all the strength
 "of his enemies may be broken by the virtue of
 "the spiritual sword, and that thou, combating for
 "him, they may be utterly destroyed!"

"THE king shall here be CROWNED, and shall
 "be thus addressed:

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“MAY God crown thee with the crown of glory,
 “and with the honour of justice, and the labour
 “of fortitude; that by the virtue of our benedic-
 “tion, and by a right faith, and the various fruit
 “of good works, thou mayest attain to the crown
 “of the everlasting kingdom, through his bounty
 “whose kingdom endures for ever.”

“AFTER the crown shall be put upon his head,
 “this prayer shall be said :

“GOD of eternity ! commander of the virtues,
 “the conqueror of all enemies, blest this thy ser-
 “vant, now humbly bending his head before thee,
 “and preserve him long in health, prosperity, and
 “happiness. Whenever he shall invoke thine aid,
 “be speedily present to him, and protect and de-
 “fend him. Bestow on him the riches of thy
 “grace ; fulfil his desires with every good thing,
 “and crown him with thy mercy.”

“THE SCEPTRE shall be here given to him, with
 “this address :

“TAKE the illustrious sceptre of the royal power,
 “the rod of thy dominion ; the rod of justice, by
 “which mayest thou govern thyself well, and the
 “holy church and Christian people, committed by
 “the Lord to thee ! Mayest thou, with royal virtue,
 “defend from the wicked ; correct the bad, and
 “pacify the upright ; and that they may hold the
 “right way, direct them with thine aid, so that from
 “the temporal kingdom thou mayest attain to that
 “which is eternal, by his aid whose endless domi-
 “nion will remain through every age.”

“AFTER the sceptre has been given, this prayer
 “follows :

" LORD of all! fountain of good! God of all! CHAP.
 " Governor of governors! bestow on thy servant I.
 " the dignity to govern well, and strengthen him
 " that he become the honour granted him by thee.
 " Make him illustrious above every other king in
 " Britain! Enrich him with thine affluent benedic-
 " tion, and establish him firmly in the throne of
 " his kingdom! Visit him in his offspring, and
 " grant him length of life! In his day, may justice
 " be pre-eminent, so that, with all joy and felicity,
 " he may be glorified in thine everlasting kingdom.

" THE ROD shall be here given to him with this
 " address:

" TAKE the rod of justice and equity, by which
 " thou mayest understand how to soothe the pious
 " and terrify the bad; teach the way to the erring;
 " stretch out thine hand to the faltering; abase the
 " proud; exalt the humble, that Christ our Lord
 " may open to thee the door, who says of himself,
 " I am the door; if any enter through me he shall
 " be saved.' And HE who is the Key of David,
 " and the Sceptre of the house of Israel, who
 " opens and no one can shut; who shuts and no
 " one can open; may he be thy helper! HE who
 " bringeth the bounden from the prison-house, and
 " the one sitting in darkness and the shadow of
 " death! that in all things thou mayest deserve to
 " follow him of whom David sang: 'Thy seat, O
 " God, endureth for ever; the sceptre of thy
 " kingdom is a right sceptre.' Imitate Him who
 " says, 'Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated
 " iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, has

B O O K " anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy
IV. " fellows."

The benedictions follow.

" MAY the Almighty Lord extend the right hand
 " of his blessing, and pour upon thee the gift of
 " his protection, and surround thee with a wall of
 " happiness, and with the guardianship of his care;
 " the merits of the holy Mary; of Saint Peter, the
 " prince of the apostles; and of Saint Gregory, the
 " apostle of the English; and of all the Saints, in-
 " terceding for thee!

" MAY the Lord forgive thee all the evil thou
 " hast done, and bestow on thee the grace and
 " mercy which thou humbly askest of him; that
 " he may free thee from all adversity, and from
 " all the assaults of visible or invisible enemies.

" MAY he place his good angels to watch over
 " thee, that they always and every where may pre-
 " cede, accompany, and follow thee; and by his
 " power may he preserve thee from sin, from the
 " sword, and every accident and danger.

" MAY he convert these enemies to the benignity
 " of peace and love, and make thee gracious and
 " amiable in every good thing; and may he cover
 " those that persecute and hate thee with salutary
 " confusion; and may everlasting sanctification flou-
 " rish upon thee.

" MAY he always make thee victorious and tri-
 " umphant over thine enemies, visible or invisible,
 " and pour upon thy heart both the fear and the
 " continual love of his holy name, and make thee
 " persevere in the right faith and in good works;
 " granting thee peace in thy days, and with the

“ palm of victory may he bring thee to an endless
 “ reign. C H A P.
I.

“ AND may he make them happy in this world,
 “ and the partakers of his everlasting felicity, who
 “ will to make thee king over his people.

“ BLESS, Lord, this elected prince, thou who
 “ rulest for ever the kingdoms of all kings.

“ AND so glorify him with thy blessing, that
 “ he may hold the sceptre of Solomon with the
 “ sublimity of a David, &c.

“ GRANT him, by thy inspiration, so to govern
 “ thy people, as thou didst permit Solomon to ob-
 “ tain a peaceful kingdom.”

“ *Designation of the State of the Kingdom.*

“ STAND and retain now the state which
 “ you have hitherto held by paternal succession,
 “ with hereditary right, delegated to thee by the
 “ authority of Almighty God, and our present de-
 “ livery, that is, of all the bishops and other ser-
 “ vants of God; and in so much as thou hast
 “ beheld the clergy nearer the sacred altars, so
 “ much more remember to pay them the honor
 “ due, in suitable places. So may the Mediator of
 “ God and men confirm thee the mediator of the
 “ clergy and the common people, on the throne of
 “ this kingdom, and make thee reign with him in
 “ his eternal kingdom.”

“ *This Prayer follows :*

“ MAY the Almighty Lord give thee, from the
 “ dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth,
 “ abundance of corn, wine, and oil ! May the
 “ people serve thee, and the tribes adore thee ! Be
 “ the lord of thy brothers, and let the sons of thy

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“mother bow before thee: He who blesses thee
“shall be filled with blessings, and God will be
“thy helper: May the Almighty bless thee with
“the blessings of the heaven above, and in the
“mountains and the vallies; with the blessing of
“deep below; with the blessing of the suckling and
“the womb; with the blessings of grapes and
“apples; and may the blessing of the ancient fa-
“thers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, be heaped up-
“on thee!

“BLESS, Lord, the courage of this prince, and
“prosper the works of his hands; and by thy
“blessing may his land be filled with apples, with
“the fruits, and the dew of heaven, and of the deep
“below; with the fruit of the sun and moon; from
“the top of the ancient mountains, from the apples
“of the eternal hills, and from the fruits of the
“earth and its fulness!

“MAY the blessing of Him who appeared in the
“bush come upon his head, and may the full bless-
“ing of the Lord be upon his sons, and may he
“steep his feet in oil.

“WITH his horn, as the horn of the rhinoceros,
“may he blow the nations to the extremities of
“the earth; and may He who has ascended to the
“skies be his auxiliary for ever.”

“HERE the coronation ends.”

CHAP. II.

His Family and Officers.

THE Anglo-Saxon queen was crowned, as well CHAP.
II.
as the king, until the reign of Egbert, when this honour was taken from her. The crimes of the preceding queen Eadburga occasioned the Anglo-Saxons to depart awhile, in this respect, from the custom of all the German nations¹. But it was soon restored, for Ethelwulph, on his second marriage, suffered his queen Judith to be crowned. An account of the ceremony of his coronation has been preserved by the old Frankish writers².

THE custom was not immediately re-assumed in England, because the expressions of Asser imply, that in Alfred's time the disuse of the coronation continued. But, by the time of the second Ethelred, it was restored; for after the account of his coronation the ceremonial of her coronation follows.—She was anointed, and after a prayer a ring was given to her, and then she was crowned³.

THE queen's name is joined with the cyning's in some charters, and it is not unusual to find them signed by her. She had her separate property; for, in a gift of land by Ethelswitha, the queen of Alfred, she gives fifteen manentes, calling them a part

¹ Asser. Vit. Alfr. p. 10, 11.

² It may be seen in Du Chesne's Collection of the Frankish Historians, t. 2. p. 423.

³ Cott. MS. Claud. A. 3.

R O O K of the land of her own power⁴. She had also officers of her own household; for the persons with whose consent and testimony she made the grant are called her nobles.

THE king's sons had lands appropriated for them, even though under age; for Ethelred says, that on his brother being elected king, "the nobles delivered to me, for my use, the lands belonging to the king's sons;" these, on the death of the princes, on their accession to the sovereignty, became the property of the king; for he adds, "my brother dying, I assumed the dominion, both of the royal lands, and of those belonging to the king's sons."

AMONG the royal household we find the disc thegn, or the thegn of his dishes; the hregel thegn, or the thegn of his wardrobe; his hors thegn, or the thegn of his stud; his camerarius, or chamberlain; his propincenarius and pincerna, or cup-bearer; his secretaries; his chancellor; and, in an humbler rank, his mægden, his grindende theowa, his fedell, his ambiht-smith, his horswealh, his geneat, and his laadrinc. The executive officers of his government will be mentioned hereafter.

⁴ MS. Claud. c. 9. p. 105. ⁵ Ib. p. 123.

C H A P. III.

The Dignity and Prerogatives of the Anglo-Saxon Cyning.

THE authorities already adduced on the nature C H A P.
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of the Government of the Saxons on the continent, lead us to infer that when Hengist Ella Cerdic and Ida invaded Britain, they and the other chiefs who succeeded in establishing themselves in the island came with the rank of war-kings, whose power was to continue while hostilities existed.

BUT to rule a territory extorted by violence from angry natives, who were perpetually struggling to regain it, could scarcely admit of any deposition of the kingly office. The same power and dignity which were requisite to obtain victory, were equally wanted, while the hostility lasted, to preserve its conquests. It is, therefore, probable, that the first Anglo-Saxon chieftains and their successors were, from necessity and utility, continued on the throne till the kingly dignity became an established, a legal, and a venerated institution.

THE circumstance, that these war-kings and their associates invaded and conquered the dominions of petty British kings, was also favourable to the establishment of continued royalty. When the British king fell, or retreated before the Saxon war-king, all his advantages became the spoil of his conquerors. The Saxon chief naturally succeeded to the British, the Saxon nobles to the British nobles,

B O O K and the other invading warriors to the possession of
IV. the free part of the native community.

It is certain that in the earliest periods of the Anglo-Saxon history, we find the cyning or king, and all the four orders of noble, free, freed, and servile. Their conversion to Christianity introduced another class, of monks and clergy.

THE power and prerogatives of the Anglo-Saxon cyning were progressively acquired. As the nation had no written constitution, their government was that of ancient custom, gradually altered from its original features by the new circumstances which occurred. In the course of time the augmentation of the power of the cyning became indispensable to the happiness of the nation. What could arrange the contentions of right, property, and power, between equal nobles, or between them and the free, and afterwards between them and the church;—what could protect the infant state from British hostility, ever jealous, ever bickering, and ever to be mistrusted, but such an institution as continued royalty—as a cyning, raised in dignity and power above all the other chieftains; who could see the laws of the society executed and their various rights adjusted; to whom every rank could effectually appeal, and who was the protector of every order of the state from violence and wrong?

WE have seen that the land swarmed with independent land-proprietors of various denominations, whose privileges were not uniform; but whose jurisdictions were generally peculiar and independent. What but a king could, in their age, and with their customs, have rescued the nation from a New-

Zealand state of general warfare? The institution of the cyning was, therefore, an admirable device, adapted to promote the common interest. It maintained peace between the turbulent chieftains. It insured to every order the enjoyment of its immunities. It was the source whence legal justice was administered to all; and perhaps no single incident tended more to accelerate the Anglo-Saxon civilization than the character and prerogatives of the cyning, moderated by the continuance of the witenagemots, and the free spirit of the people.

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It is extremely difficult to describe accurately his privileges and power. As a child of warfare he must at first have been often arbitrary, acting with no rule but his own judgment and will, wherever he had the power. As the supreme chief of many other chieftains, whose rights were as sacred as his dignity may have been popular, his authority must have been extremely circumscribed. Much of his power at first depended on his personal character and talents. Thus Eadbald had less authority in Kent than his father¹; while Edwin, in Northumbria, attained to such power that he had the banner carried before him, not only in battle, but also in his excursions with his ministers through his kingdom, which seems to have been an assumption of dignity and state unknown before². So, Oswin was so beloved for his amiable conduct that the noblest men of his provinces came from every part to attend and serve him³.

¹ Bede, l. 2. c. 6.

² Ib. l. 2. c. 16.

³ Ib. l. 3. c. 14.

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THE growth of the kingly prerogatives was not only favoured by the energy and talents of the prosperous sovereigns, but also by the natural tendency of such a power to accumulate. The crown was a permanent establishment, which it was the interest of every one, but the superior nobles, to maintain and to aggrandize, till its power became formidable enough to be felt in its oppressions. Its domains were increasing by every successful war, and its revenue, privileges, and munificence, were perpetually adding to its wealth and influence.

WHEN the zeal of the popes had completed the conversion of the island, and an hierarchy was established, the kingly power received great support and augmentation from the religious veneration with which the clergy surrounded it. That the church, in its weakness, should support the crown, which was its best protector, was a circumstance as natural as that it should afterwards oppose it, when its aggressions became feared.

THE laws of Ethelbert, the first Christian king of Kent, who was converted about 600, are the most ancient specimens of the Anglo-Saxon legislation which remains to us. In these⁴, the cyning appears already distinguished by a superior rank and privileges. While the mund-byrd of a ceorle was valued at six scillinga, the king's was appointed at 50. The mulct on homicide in an eorle's residence was 12 scillinga, in a king's 50. A double penalty was inflicted for injuries done where the cyning

⁴ Wilk. Leg. Saxon. p. 1—7.

was drinking. An offence with his female was punished by a fine of 50 scillinga, while the eorle's occasioned only 12, and a ceorle's but six. So, though a freeman's theft from a freeman incurred a treble satisfaction, his purloining the king's property was to be nine times compensated.

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ANOTHER impressive and profitable token of superiority was, that some of the mulcts on offences were paid to him. Thus, if any harm was done to the leode or people when the king called them together, the compensation was to be double, and 50 scillinga were to be paid to the king. If any one killed a free man, the king had a similar sum as his lord. If a free man stole from others of the same condition, the penalty was to be the king's. If a pregnant woman was forced away, the king had 15 scillinga.

In the laws of Ina we see the cyning mentioned in a style of authority very much resembling that of subsequent sovereigns. He says, "I Ina, by the grace of God king of the West Saxons." He uses the phrase "*my* bishops." He calls the nobles "*my* ealdormen," and "the oldest sages of *my* people." He adds, "I was consulting on the health of *our* soul and the establishment of *our* kingdom, that right laws, and right cyne domas (kingly judgments), through *our* people, might be settled and confirmed, and that no ealdorman, and none of *our* subjects should violate *our* laws." The laws then are introduced with "*We* command."

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ONE of the provisions in these laws shews the king in the same authoritative and dignified features. "If any one fight in the king's house he shall forfeit *all* his property, and it shall remain in the king's decision whether he shall have his life or not⁶." The difference between this offence and quarrels elsewhere was very great; for a battle in the church, and in an ealdorman's house, was punished by a fine of 120 scillinga only.

THE epithets given by the pope to the first Christian king of the Anglo-Saxons were, "the glorious," and "the most glorious." In several of their letters the phrase "Your glory" is used as synonymous with our expression of "your majesty." The same epithet of "most glorious" is applied by Aldhelm the king of Cornwall, and by an abbot, to the Frankish king⁷. But this epithet was rather the complimentary language of the day than a phrase appropriated to royalty; for Alphuald, king of East Anglia, writing to Boniface, styles the mitred missionary, "Domino gloriosissimo." A pope, in 634, addresses the king of Northumbria as Your Excellency. Boniface, to the king of Mercia, says, "We intreat the clemency of your highness." On another occasion his superscription is more rhetorical: "To Ethelbald, king, my dearest lord, and in the love of Christ to be preferred to other kings, governing the illustrious sceptre of the empire of the Angles⁸." Another address of

⁶ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 16.

⁷ Bonif. Letters, 10 Mag. Bib. 65. 85.

⁸ Bonif. Letters, 16 Mag. Bib.

the same sort in Saxon occurs in a monk's dedication of a saint's life; "To my most loved lord
 "bove the earthly kings of all other men, Alfwold,
 "king of the East Angles, ruling his kingdom with
 "right and with dignity".

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THE titles which the ancient Saxon kings assumed in their charters may be briefly noticed:—
 "I, Æthelbald, by the divine dispensation, king of
 "the Mercians." The powerful Offa simply writes,
 "Offa king of the Mercians." Another; "Kenulph, by God's mercy, king of the Mercians." Witlaf's, Burtulph's, and Beorred's, are as unassuming. In the same spirit Ethelwulph calls himself merely Rex West Saxonum. The style in which Edgar chose to be mentioned is usually very pompous and rhetorical.

ALFRED'S exordium to his laws is as dignified as Ina's: "I, Ælfred, cyning, gathered together
 "and have commanded to be written, many of
 "those things that our forefathers held which pleased
 "me, and many of those things that liked me not,
 "I have thrown aside, with the advice of my
 "witan, and other things have commanded to be
 "holden".

THE subsequent kings, in the same manner, promulged the laws in their own name, with the advice of their witan.

THE prerogatives and influence in society of the cyning were great. He was to be prayed for and voluntarily honoured¹¹; his word was to be taken

* MS.

¹⁰ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 34.

¹¹ Ib. p. 10.

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without an oath¹²; he had the high prerogative of pardoning in certain cases¹³; his mund-byrd and his Were were larger than those of any other class in society¹⁴; his safety was protected by high penalties for offences committed in his presence or habitation, or against his family¹⁵; he had the lordship of the free¹⁶; he had the option to sell over sea, to kill, or to take the were of a freeman thief; also to sell a theow over sea, or take a penalty¹⁷; he could mitigate penalties¹⁸; and could remit them¹⁹; he had a sele or tribunal before whom thieves were brought²⁰; he had a tribunal in London²¹; his tribunal was the last court of appeal²²; he was the executive superintendant of the general laws, and usually received the fines attached to crimes²³. The Jews were his property²⁴; the high executive officers, the ealdormen, the gerefas, the thegns, and others, were liable to be displaced by him²⁵. He convoked the councils of the witan²⁶, and summoned the people to the army, which he commanded.

His property, on the dissolution of the oetarchy, was very extensive in every part of England. Just before Alfred acceded to the crown, there were four kings reigning over the Anglo-Saxons. The kings of Wesssex, Mercia, East Anglia, and North-

¹² Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 11.

¹³ Ib. p. 20. 65.

¹⁴ Ib. 71, 72.

¹⁵ Ib. 22.

¹⁶ Ib. 2.

¹⁷ Ib. 12.

¹⁸ Ib. 77.

¹⁹ Spelm. Conc. p. 485.

²⁰ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 8

²¹ Ib. p. 10.

²² Domesday in loc.

²³ Heming. Chart. 1. p. 265.

²⁴ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 47.

²⁵ Ib. 109. 122.

²⁶ Ib. 109.

umbria. These four sovereignties had absorbed the other four. But when the sword of the Northmen had destroyed the dynasties of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria, and when the invaders had themselves bent to the power of Alfred, then the Anglo-Saxon cyning rose into great power and property, because the royal power and property of the subdued kingdoms became the right of the ruling king. Alfred united in himself all the regal possessions in England, except those which he allowed the Danish princes to retain in Northumbria and East Anglia. The Northmen were completely subdued by Athelstan; and when this event took place, the cyning of England became the possessor of all the prerogatives and property which the eight kings of the octarchy had enjoyed. It was this concentration of wealth and privileges, and its consequences, which exalted the cyning to that majesty and power which, in the later periods of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, became attached to the throne.

THE royal property consisted of lands in demesne in every part of England, and though in the lapse of time he had given large possessions to his friends and followers, yet from many he reserved rents and services which were a great source of wealth and power. The places which occur with the denomination of royal towns, or royal villas, are very numerous, and among these we may notice the name of Windeshore (Windfor), which is still a regal residence.

HIS revenues were the rents and produce of his lands in demesne; customs in the sea-ports; tolls in the markets, and in the cities on sales; duties

B O O K and services to be paid to him in the burghs, or to
^{IV.} be commuted for money; wites, or penalties and
 forfeitures, which the law attached to certain crimes
 and offences; heriots from his thanes, and vari-
 ous payments and benefits arising to him on the
 circumstances stated in the laws.

His dignity and influence were displayed and upheld by his liberality, of which specimens will be given in another place.

BUT all the prerogatives and rights of the Anglo-Saxon cuning were definite and ascertained. They were such as had become established by law or custom, and could be as little exceeded by the sovereign as withheld by his people. They were not arbitrary privileges of an unknown extent. Even William the Conqueror found it necessary to have an official survey of the royal rights taken in every part of the kingdom; and we find the hundred, or similar bodies in every county, making the inquiry to the king's commissioners, who returned to the sovereign that minute record of his claims upon his subjects, which constitutes the *Domesday-book*. The royal claims in *Domesday-book* were, therefore, not the arbitrary impositions of the throne, but were those which the people themselves testified to their king to have been his legal rights. Perhaps no country in Europe can exhibit such an ancient record of the freedom of its people, and the limited prerogatives of its ruler.

THE military force was under the command of the king, while it was assembled. It was rather a militia than a regular army. We have already given some notices of its nature: from a certain

quantity of land a fixed number of soldiers were sent, when the king summoned his people to an expedition, who were bound to serve under him for a certain time, apparently two months. Thus, in Berkshire, "when the king sent any where his army, one soldier went from every five hides, and for his victuals or his pay every hide gave him four shillings for two months. This money was not transmitted to the king, but to the soldiers. If any one, after he was summoned to the expedition, did not go, he forfeited to the king all his land. If any who had the right of staying at home promised to send a substitute, and the substitute did not go, the penalty was fifty shillings." In Wiltshire, "When the king went on an expedition by land or sea, he had from Wiltton burgh either twenty shillings to feed his buzecarlos, or led one man with him for the honour of five hides." A curious instance of tenure on military service occurs in Heming's *Char-tularium*. The prior of a monastery gave a villa, to a miles for life, on condition of his serving for the monastery for it, in the expeditions by sea and land, which then frequently took place.

By the laws, persons were forbidden to join the *fyrð* or expedition without the king's leave. To depart from them without permission, when the king commanded, was still more severely punished. The loss of life, and the forfeiture of all the offender's property, was the consequence.

THE *scip fyrð*, or naval expedition, was ordered to be always so accelerated as to be ready every year soon after Easter.

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It was enacted, that whoever destroyed or injured the people's fyrd scip should carefully compensate it, and to the king the mund²⁹.

So early as in the time of Ina, it was provided that if a fith-cund man, having land, neglected the fyrd, he should pay one hundred and twenty shillings, and forfeit his land. If he had no land, he was to pay sixty shillings. A ceorl paid thirty shillings as a fyrd-wite³⁰.

²⁹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 122.

³⁰ Ib. 13.

CHAP. IV.

The Witena-Gemot.

THE gemot of the witan was the great council of the Anglo-Saxon nation; their legislative and supreme judicial assembly. As the highest judicial court of the kingdom, they resembled our present House of Lords. And in those periods, when the peers of the realm represented territorial property rather than hereditary dignities, the comparison between the Saxon witena-gemot and the upper house of our modern parliament might have been more correctly made in their legislative capacity. The German states are recorded by Tacitus to have had national councils¹, and the continental Saxons are also stated to have possessed them².

WHEN the cyning was only the temporary commander of the nation, for the purposes of war, whose function ceased when peace returned, the witena-gemot must have been the supreme authority of the nation. But when the cyning became an established and permanent dignity, whose privileges and power were perpetually increasing till he attained the majestic prerogatives, and widely-diffused property, which Athelstan and Edgar enjoyed, the witena-gemot then assumed a secondary rank in the state. We will endeavour to delineate

¹ Tacitus de Morib. Germ.

² Fabricius Hist. Sax. 64. 69. Chronographus Saxo. p. 115.

BOOK its nature and powers with fidelity, adopting no
IV. theory, but carefully following the lights which
 the Saxon documents afford to us.

THE topics of our inquiry will be these :

WHAT its members were styled.

OF whom it was composed.

BY whom convened.

THE times of its meetings.

THE place.

Its business.

Its power.

THE gemot and its members have various appellations in the writings of our ancestors. In their vernacular tongue they have been styled, The witen-gemot; the Engla ræd gifan (council-givers); the witan; the Eadigra geheahtendlic ymcyme (the illustrious assembly of the wealthy); the Eadigan (the wealthy); the mycel synoth (great synod) ³.

IN the Latin phrases applied to them by our forefathers they have been called optimates; principes; primates; procures; concionatores Angliæ, and such like ⁴.

THE kings, who allude to them in their grants, call them, My witan; meorum sapientum archontum; heroicorum virorum; conciliatorum meorum; meorum omnium episcoporum et principum optimatum meorum; optimatibus nostris ⁵. All

³ Sax. Chron. 154. MS. Claud. A. 3. Sax. Chron. 148. Alfred's Will. Wilkins, 76. 102. Ib. p. 10. p. 72, &c.

⁴ Ethelward, 847. Hem. Chart. p. 15. 17. 23. MS. Claud. MS. Cleop. 3 Gale, 484, 5, &c.

⁵ Heming. Chart. 2. 41. 57. MS. Claud. C. 9. 103. 112, 113. &c.

these are various phrases to express the same thing. C H A P.
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 With reference to their presumed wisdom, they were called witan; with reference to their rank and property, they were styled eadigan, optimates, principes, proceres, &c.

As to the composition of the witenagemot, no minute information can be given, though some circumstances may be stated. The general terms that are used, imply wise men, great men, counsellors, and senators. Sometimes the expressions are more discriminating; as, "all my bishops, "princes, and great men;—the wise men, bishops, "ealdormen, and all the nobility;—all the bishops, "chiefs, and all the best men of this kingdom in "an unanimous legal council⁶." One grant, which says, "with the consent of all my optimates, "as well ecclesiastical as civil, whose names follow "according to their dignity," is signed by the king, one archbishop, fourteen bishops, the king's mother, the king's four sons, sixteen abbots, and three dukes⁷. In another, where similar expressions are used, we find the king, two archbishops, four bishops, one abbot, seven dukes, and twenty-five ministers⁸. Some grants are signed by most laymen, and some by most ecclesiastics. The gemots of the witan, no doubt, varied as our parliaments vary in the number and quality of the persons who, from time to time, attend. One grant, stating "all the primates of all my kingdom, knowing it, "whose names are underwritten," is signed by the following persons: "the king, two archbishops,

⁶ Heming. Chart. p. 57. 93. Claud. C. 9. p. 124.

⁷ MS. Cl. C. 9. p. 122. ⁸ MS. Claud. B. 471.

B O O K " eleven bishops, the queen, eleven abbots, nine
 IV. " duces, and twenty-six milites ⁹."

IN a great council in the year 716, the king of Kent was present, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and abbots, *abbesses*, presbyters, deacons, duces, and satraps. Among the names subscribed to the record of this council are five abbesses ¹⁰. In another great council, held in 811, at London, the king, an archbishop, two bishops, together with princes, duces, et majores natu, are mentioned, who are afterwards stated again with the additional expression of Judices. It says their names were subscribed to the grant. These appear to be the king, the queen, a subordinate king, an archbishop, three bishops, three princes, three duces, two officers called propincerna ejus and pedifsecus, two abbots, and a presbyter ¹¹. Another council, in 824, is subscribed by the king, eight bishops, one signing himself *electus*, four abbots, thirteen duces, one pedifsecus ¹².

MOST of those whose names are subscribed to councils or charters, and who appear to have been the witan who constituted the gemot, have some titles after their names. If they were clergy, they are styled either archbishop, bishop, abbot, presbyter, or deacon. If they were laymen, we find the additions of princeps, duces, comes, ealdorman, minister or miles, or a specific title of household of-

⁹ 3 Gale's Script. 517. ¹⁰ Aftle's MS. Charters, No. 2.

¹¹ Ib. No. 8. The expression majores natu does not here, I think, mean eldest son, but is synonymous with the Saxon term ealders.

¹² Aftle's MS. Ch. No. 12.

fice, as disc thegn and hrægel thegn. There are, C H A P.
IV. however, some grants which have names without any addition.

WE know what was necessary to exalt a ceorl to a thegn, but we cannot distinctly ascertain all the qualifications which entitled persons to a seat in the witena-gemot. There is, however, one curious passage which ascertains that a certain amount of property was an indispensable requisite, and that acquired property would answer this purpose as well as hereditary property. The possession here stated to be necessary was 40 hides of land. The whole incident is so curious as to be worth transcribing.—Guddmund desired in matrimony the daughter of a great man, but because he had not the lordship of 40 hides of land, he could not, though noble, be reckoned among the proceres; and therefore she refused him. He went to his brother, the abbot of Ely, complaining of his misfortune. The abbot fraudulently gave him possessions of the monastery sufficient to make up the deficiency. This circumstance attests that nobility alone was not sufficient for a seat among the witan, and that forty hides of land was an indispensable qualification ¹³.

It would be highly interesting to know whether they who possessed this quantity of land had thereby the right of being in the witena-gemot, or whether the members of this great council were elected from the territorial proprietors, and sat as their

¹³ 3 Gale's Script. p. 513.

B Q P K representatives. I am not able to decide this curious question. But I cannot avoid mentioning one person's designation, which seems to have the force of expressing an *elect*ed member. Among the persons signing to the act of the gemot at Clofeshoe in 824 is "Ego Beonna *electus* consent. et sub-
 scrib. ¹⁴."

THEY were convened by the king's writ. Several passages in the writers of this period mention that they assembled at the summons of the king. "On a paschal solemnity all the greater men, the clergy and the laity of all the land, met at the king's court to celebrate the festival *called by him* ¹⁵." In 1048 the Saxon Chronicle says, "the king *sent* after all his witan, and bade them come to Gloucester a little after the feast of Saint Mary ¹⁶." In one MS. in the year 993, the king says, "I ordered a synodale council to be held at Winton on the day of Pentecost ¹⁷."

THE times of their meeting seem to have been usually the great festivals of the church, as Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and of these, if we may judge, by its being more frequently mentioned, Easter was the favorite period. But their meetings were not confined to these seasons; for we find that they sometimes took place in the middle of Lent ¹⁸, near the feast of Saint Mary ¹⁹, July ²⁰, September, and October ²¹.

¹⁴ Aftle's MS. Charters, No. 12. ¹⁵ 3 Gale's Script. 395.

¹⁶ Sax. Chron. p. 163.

¹⁷ MS. Claud. C. 9. p. 122.

¹⁸ Sax. Chron. 161.

¹⁹ lb. 163.

²⁰ Aftle's MS. Chart. No. 2.

²¹ Sax. Chron. 164. Heming. Chart. 50.

THE place of their assembly was not fixed. After Egbert's accession the gemot was convened at London, at Kingston, at Wilton, Winton, Cloferhoe, Dorchester, Cyrneceaster, Calne, Ambresbury, Oxford, Gloucester, Æthelwaraburh, Kyrtlenegum, and other places²². Perhaps the place of their meeting depended on the king's residence at the time, and was fixed by his convenience.

OUR monarchs seem to have maintained their influence in the witenagemots by their munificence. One account of their meeting in the time of Edgar is thus given: "All England, rejoicing in the placid leisure of tranquil peace, it happened that on a certain paschal solemnity all the majores of all the country, as well clergy as laymen, of both orders and professions, met at the royal court called by him to celebrate the festivity, and to be honoured by him with royal gifts. Having celebrated the divine mysteries with all alacrity and joy, all went to the palace to refresh their bodies. Some days having been passed away, the king's hall resounded with acclamations. The streets murmured with the busy hum of men. None felt entirely a refusal of the royal munificence; for all were magnificently rewarded with presents of various sort and value, in vessels, vestments, or the best horses²³."

THESE royal gifts are mentioned in a carta of Kenulf, dated 811, in which he states, that to the

²² Sax. Chron. 142. 161. 168. 124. 128. 163. 146. Hemming. 93. MS. Cott. Aug. 2. 20. Aðle's MS. Chart. No. 8. No. 12. MS. Cleop. B. 13. MS. Claud. C. 9. 121.

²³ 3 Gale's Script. p. 395.

BOOK IV. consecration of the church at Winchelcomb, *he had* *called* the optimates, bishops, princes, eorls, and *procuratores* of the Mercians, with his relations and two minor kings. He adds, that to all the archontes of Mercia, and of the other provinces, he had given many presents in gold, silver, and in household goods, and select horses; to every one according to his rank, and that to all those who had no land he gave a pound in the present silver and gold, and to every presbyter a mare, and to every servant of God a shilling. He mentions likewise that he had made these presents, on the condition that his inheritance might continue with him and his heirs the more firmly and securely ²⁴.

THE king presided at the witenagemots, and sometimes, perhaps always, addressed them. In 993 we have this account of a royal speech. The king says, in a charter which recites what had passed at one of their meetings, "I benignantly addressed to them salutary and pacific words. I admonished all—that those things which were worthy of the Creator, and serviceable to the health of my soul, or to my royal dignity, and which should prevail as proper for the English people—they might, with the Lord's assistance, discuss in common ²⁵." The speech of Edgar, in favour of the monks, has been noticed in a former volume ²⁶.

It has been already stated, that one of their duties was to elect the sovereign, and to assist at his coronation. Another was to co-operate with the

²⁴ Dugd. Mon. Angl. 1. p. 189.

²⁵ MS. Claud. C. 9. p. 122.

²⁶ 3 Angl. Sax. p. 173.

king in making laws. Thus Bede says, of the earliest laws we have, that Ethelbert established them "with the counsel of his wise men".²⁷ The introductory passages of the Anglo-Saxon laws which exist, usually express that they were made with the concurrence of the witan.

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THE witenagemot appears also to have made treaties jointly with the king; for the treaty with Guthrun and the Danes thus begins: "This is the treaty which Ælfred, king, and Gythrun, king, and all the witan of England, and all the people in East Anglia, (that is the Danes,) have made and fastened with oaths²⁸." In 1011, it is said that the king and his witan sent to the Danes and desired peace, and promised tribute and supply²⁹. On another occasion, the Saxon Chronicle states, that the king sent to the hostile fleet an ealdorman, who, with the word of the king and his witan, made peace with them³⁰. In 1016, it expresses that Eadric, the ealdorman, and the witan, who were their counsel, that the kings (Edmund and Canute) should make peace between them³¹. In 1002, the king ordered, and his witan, the money to be paid to the Danes, and peace to be made³². The treaty, printed in Wilkin's *Leges Anglo-Saxonice*, p. 104. is said to have been made by the king and his witan.

THEY are also mentioned to us as assisting the king in directing the military preparations of the kingdom. Thus, in 992, the Saxon Chronicle says, that "the king ordered, and all his witan, that man

²⁷ Bede, l. 2. c. 5.

²⁸ Wilkin's *Leg. Angl.* 47.

²⁹ Sax. Chron. 140.

³⁰ Sax. Chron. 132.

³¹ Ib. 150.

³² Ib. 132.

BOOK "should gather together all the ships that were
IV. "to go to London". In 999, the king, with his
 witan, ordered that both the ship fyrde and the
 land fyrde should be led against the Danes³⁴. So,
 in 1052, the king decreed, and his witan, that man
 should proceed with the ships to Sandwich, and set
 Raulf, eorl, and Oddan, eorl, to heafod-mannum
 (to be the head-men) thereto³⁵.

IMPEACHMENTS of great men were made before
 the witenagemot. Some instances may be concisely
 narrated. In 1048, the king, conceiving that he
 had cause of complaint against the family of the
 famous Godwin, convened the witenagemot. The
 family armed. The witan ordered that both sides
 should desist from hostilities, and that the king
 should give God's peace and his full friendship to
 both sides. Then the king and his witan directed
 another witenagemot to be assembled at London on
 the next harvest equinox, and the king ordered the
 army on the south and north of the Thames to be
 bannan.

At this gemot, Eorl Swain, one of Godwin's
 sons, was declared an utlah, (outlaw), and Godwin
 and his other son Harold were cited to attend the
 gemot as speedily as possible. They approached,
 and desired peace and hostages, that they might
 come into the gemot and quit it without treachery.
 They were again cited, and they repeated their de-
 mand. Hostages were refused them, and five days
 of safety only allowed them to leave the country.
 They obeyed, and went exiles into Flanders³⁵.

³⁴ Sax. Chron. 126.

³⁵ Ib. 165.

³⁴ Ib. 130.

³⁵ Ib. 164.

WE have another instance of the great council C H A P.
IV. both banishing and pardoning. A great gemot, in 1052, was assembled at London, which "all the eorls and the best men in the country" attended. There Godwin made his defence, and purged himself before his lord the king and all the people, that he was guiltless of the crime charged on him and his sons. The king forgave him and his family, and restored them their possessions and the earldom. But the archbishop and all the Frenchmen were banished ³⁷.

THE same power was exerted in 1055. A witen-gemot was assembled seven days before Mid-Lent, and Eorl Elfgar was outlawed for high treason, or, as it is expressed, because he was a fwica, a betrayer of the king and all his people. His earldom was given to another ³⁸.

So all the optimates meeting at Cynrceaster in the reign of Ethelred, banished Elfric for high treason, and confiscated all his possessions to the king ³⁹.

AT a great council, held in 716, one of their main objects is expressed to have been to examine anxiously into the state of the churches and monasteries in Kent and their possessions ⁴⁰.

AT these councils, grants of land were made and confirmed. The instances of this are innumerable. Thus, in 811, Conwulf, at a very great council convened in London, gave some lands of his own right, with the advice and consent of the said council ⁴¹. It would be almost endless to enumerate all

³⁷ Sax. Chron. 168.

³⁸ Ib. 169.

³⁹ MS. Claud. C. 9. p. 123, 124.

⁴⁰ Aste's MS. Chart. No. 2. ⁴¹ Ib. No. 8.

B O O K the grants which we know of where the consent of
IV. the council is stated.

AT the council in 716 they forbad any layman taking any thing from the monastery therein named, and they freed the lands belonging to it from various impositions and payments ⁴².

AT the council in 824 they inquire into the necessities of the secular deputies, as well as into the monasterial disciplines, and into the ecclesiastical morals. Here a complaint was made by the archbishop, that he had been unjustly deprived of some land. He cited those who withheld it. The writings concerning the land were produced, and *viva voce* evidence heard. The writings and the land were ordered by the council to be given to the archbishop ⁴³.

AT a council in 903, an ealdorman stated that his title deeds had been destroyed by fire. He applied to the council for leave to have new ones. New ones were ordered to be made out to him, as nearly similar to the former as memory could make them ⁴⁴.

WHAT was done at one council was sometimes confirmed at another. Thus what was done in the great council in Baccandfield was confirmed in the same year at another held in July at Cloveshoh. So a gift at Easter confirmed at Christmas ⁴⁵.

THAT the witenagemot sometimes resisted the royal acts, appears from their not choosing to con-

⁴² Aftle's MS. Chart. No. 2. ⁴³ Ib. No. 12.

⁴⁴ Ib. No. 21. ⁴⁵ Ib. No. 2. and MS. Claud. C. 9. 124.

sider a gift of land by Baldred king of Kent valid, because he did not please them ⁴⁶. C H A P.
IV.

THE witenagemot frequently appears to us, in the Saxon remains, as the high court of judicature of the kingdom.

IN 896, Æthelred, the ealdorman of Mercia, convened all the witan of Mercia, (which had not yet been reduced into a province) the bishops, ealdormen, and all the nobility, at Gloucester, with the leave of Alfred. "They consulted how they most justly might hold their theodscipe, both for God and for the world, and right many men, both clergy and laity, concerning the lands, and other things that were detained." At this gemot the bishop of Worcester made his complaint of the wood land, of which he was deprived. All the witan declared that the church should have its rights preserved, as well as other persons. A discussion and an accommodation took place ⁴⁷.

IN another case of disputed lands, the bishop states, that he could obtain no right before Ethelred was lord of Mercia. He assembled the witan of Mercia at Saltwic, about manifold needs, both ecclesiastical and civil. "Then (says the bishop) I spoke of the monastery with the ersege write, (ex-conveyances of the land) and desired my right. Then Eadnoth, and Alfred, and Ælfstan, pledged me that they would either give it to me, or would; among their kinsfolk, find a man who would take it on the condition of being obedient to me." No man, however, would take the

⁴⁶ Spelman's Concilia, p. 340. ⁴⁷ Heming. Chart. i. p. 93.

BOOK land on these terms, and the parties came to an accommodation on the subject ⁴⁸.

IN 851, the monks of Croyland having suffered much from some violent neighbours, laid their complaint before the witena-gemot. The king ordered the sheriff of Lincoln, and his other officers in that district, to take a view of the lands of the monastery, and to make their report to him and his council, wherever they should be at the end of Easter. This was done, and the grievances were removed ⁴⁹.

THE power of the witena-gemot over the public gilds of the kingdom, we cannot detail. The lands of the Anglo-Saxons, the burghs, and the people, appear to us, in all the documents of our ancestors, as subjected to certain definite payments to the king as to their lords; and we have already stated, that by a custom, whose origin is lost in its antiquity, among the Anglo-Saxons, all their lands, unless specially exempted, were liable to three great burdens, the building and reparation of bridges and fortifications, and to military expeditions. But what we now call taxation, seems to have begun in the time of Ethelred, and to have arisen from the evils of a foreign invasion. Henry of Huntingdon, speaking of the payment of ten thousand pounds to the Danes to buy off their hostility, says, "This evil has lasted to our days, and long will continue, unless the mercy of God interferences; for we now (in the twelfth century), pay that to our kings from custom, which was

⁴⁸ Heming. Chart. i. p. 120.

⁴⁹ Ingulf, p. 12.

“paid to the Danes from unspeakable terror ⁵⁰.” C H A P.
 This payment, and those which followed, are stated ^{IV.}
 to have been ordered by the king and the witenagemot ⁵¹.

UNDER sovereigns of feeble capacity, the witenagemot seems to have been the scene of those factions which always attend both aristocracies and democracies, when no commanding talents exist to predominate in the discussions, and to shape the council.

THE reigns of Ethelred the Second, and of the Confessor, were distinguished by the turbulence, and even treason of the nobles. Of the former our Malmfbury writes, “Whenever the duces met in
 “the council, some chose one thing and some
 “another. They seldom agreed in any good
 “opinion. They consulted more on domestic trea-
 “sons, than on the public necessities ⁵².”

⁵⁰ Hen. Hunt. l. 5. p. 357. Brompton Chron. p. 879.
 Ingulf also complains heavily of these exactions, p. 55.

⁵¹ Sax. Chron. 126. 132. 136. 140. 142.

⁵² Malmfb. p. 63.

C H A P. V.

Their Official Dignities.

BOOK
IV.

THE EALDORMAN was the highest officer in the kingdom. In rank he was inferior to an etheling; for when an etheling's were geld was fifteen thousand thrymias, an ealdorman's was but eight thousand¹. He was the chief of a shire, and he lost this dignity if he connived at the escape of a robber, unless the king pardoned him². He was one of the witan, who attended the witenagemot³. He presided with the bishop at the scire-gemot, which he was ordered to attend⁴, and the folc-gemot⁵. He ranked with a bishop⁶, but was superior to the thegn⁷. He had great civil powers in administering justice, and also enjoyed high military authority; he is mentioned as leading the shire to battle against the enemy⁸. To draw weapons before him incurred a penalty of one hundred shillings⁹; and to fight before him in a gemot incurred a fine to him of one hundred and twenty shillings, besides other punishments¹⁰. The ealdorman is a title which occurs perpetually in the Saxon Chronicle.

THE EORLE is a dignity recognized in our earliest laws. It appears in those of Ethelbert, who died

¹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 71.

² Ib. 20.

³ Ib. 14.

⁴ Ib. 78. 136.

⁵ Ib. 42.

⁶ Ib. 38.

⁷ Ib. 22. 79.

⁸ Sax. Chron. p. 78.

⁹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 38.

¹⁰ Ib. 42.

in 616, where offences in the tune and against the C H A P.
birele of an eorle are expressly punished ^{V.} ¹¹. He is
also mentioned in a charter, dated 680 ¹². The
mund of his widow is highly estimated ¹³. He is
also noticed in the laws of Alfred, Edward, Ethel-
stan, and Edgar ¹⁴.

AN eorle's heriot was four horses saddled and
four horses not saddled, four helms, four mails,
eight spears and shields, four swords, and two hun-
dred mancusa of gold, which was twice a thegn's
heriot ¹⁵. To be an eorle was a dignity to which a
thegn might arrive ¹⁶, and even a ceorle ¹⁷.

IN 656 Wulfer, in his charter, mentions the
eorls. "I Wulfer, kyning, with the king and
" with eorles, and with herotogas, and with
" thegnas, the witneses of this gift ¹⁸." The per-
sons who sign this, with the king and clergy, call
themselves ealdormen. The title of eorl occurs
again in a grant in 675 ¹⁹, and afterwards ²⁰.

IN the fragment of poetry in the Saxon Chro-
nicle to the year 975, Edward, the son of Edgar, is
called the eorla ealder; the ruler of eorls ²¹.

IN 966 Oslac is stated to have received his eal-
dordome. In 975 he is called *se mære eorl*, the
great earl; and is stated to have been banished ²²;
he is also called ealdorman ²³. This same Oslac is
mentioned in the laws of Edgar as an earl. "Then

¹¹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 3.

¹² Spelman. Concil. p. 164.

¹³ Wilkin's Leg. Sax. p. 7.

¹⁴ Wilk. 35. 53. 70. 82.

¹⁵ Ib. 144. ¹⁶ Ib. 71.

¹⁷ Ib. 112.

¹⁸ Sax. Chron. p. 37.

¹⁹ Sax. Ch. p. 42.

²⁰ Ib. p. 62. ²¹ Ib. 123.

²² Ib. p. 121. 123.

²³ Ib. 122.

B O O K "let Oslac eorl promote it, and all the army that
IV. "in this ealdordom remaineth ²⁴." These passages induce a belief that eorle and ealdorman were but different denominations of the same official dignity. Yet when we find in the Chronicle such distinctions in the same paragraph, as "Ealfrice ealdorman, and Thorode eorl ²⁵," we are led to imagine that there must have been some peculiar traits by which they were discriminated. But it is obvious from the Saxon Chronicle that eorldome ²⁶ expressed the same thing that ealdordome has been applied to signify.

IN the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period the title ealdorman seems to have been superseded by that of eorl ²⁷. The iarl of the Northmen was the same title.

THE term heretoch implies a leader of an army, and hold is mentioned as a dignity in Æthelstan's laws, whose were was higher than that of a thegn ²⁸. Many persons with this title are mentioned in the Chronicle ²⁹ in the years 905, 911.

THE GEREFAS were officers appointed by the executive power, and in rank inferior to the eorle or ealdorman. They were of various kinds. The heh-gerefa is mentioned, whose were was four thousand thrymsas ³⁰. Also the wic-gerefa, before whom purchases of the Kentishmen in London were to be made, unless they had good witnesses ³¹. And the porte-gerefa, or the gerefa of the gate, who was to

²⁴ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 82.

²⁶ Sax. Ch. 168, 169.

²⁸ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 71.

³⁰ Wilk. Leg. 71.

²⁵ Sax. Chron. 127.

²⁷ Ib. 164-173.

²⁹ Sax. Chron. 101, 103.

³¹ Wilk. 9.

witness all purchases without the gate, unless other C H A P.
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unimpeachable persons were present ³².

THE gerefas were in every byrig ³³. They were judicial officers ³⁴, and were ordered to judge according to right judgment, and the dom-bec, or book of judgment. They delivered over offenders to punishment ³⁵. They were present at the folc-gemot ³⁶, where they were to do justice. They were ordered to convene a gemot every four weeks to end law-suits ³⁷. They took bail or security in their respective shires for every one to keep the peace; and if they omitted to take the bail, and neglected their duty, they lost their office, and the king's friendship; and forfeited to him one hundred and twenty shillings ³⁸.

In cases of robbery application was to be made to the gerefas in whose district it was, and he was to provide as many men as were sufficient to apprehend the thief, and avenge the injury ³⁹. If any one became "untrue" to every one, the king's gerefas was to go and bring him under bail, that he might be brought to justice to answer his accuser. If the offender could find no bail, he was to be killed ⁴⁰. He was to supply such prisoners with food who had no relations that could support them ⁴¹. He was to defend the abbots in their necessities ⁴².

THEY were made responsible for their official conduct. If they neglected their duty, it was ordered in the laws of Ethelstan, that they should be fined for

³² Wilk. Leg. 48.

³⁴ Ib. 9. 12. 48, 49.

³⁷ Ib. 50.

⁴⁰ Ib. 103.

³³ Ib. 54, 55.

³⁵ Ib. 12.

³⁸ Ib. 69.

⁴¹ Ib. 34.

³⁶ Ib. 39. 41.

³⁹ Ib. 68.

⁴² Ib. 115

B O O K their delinquency, and be displaced, and the bishop
^{IV.} was to announce it to the gerefa in his province. If they broke the law they had to pay five pounds the first time, the price of their were the second, and for the third offence they lost all their property ⁴³. If they took a bribe to pervert right, they were punished as severely ⁴⁴.

THE THEGNS of the Anglo-Saxons were in rank below the eorles and ealdormen. They formed a species of nobility peculiar to those ancient times; and though, at this distant period, they cannot be delineated accurately, yet, from the circumstances which we can collect, we shall find them a very curious and interesting order of men.

It has been already mentioned, that it was a rank attainable by all, even by the servile, and that the requisites which constituted the dignity are stated in the laws to have been the possession of five hides of his own land, a church, a kitchen, a bell-house, a judicial seat at the burgh gate, and an appropriate office in the king's hall.

BUT it was essential to a thegn that he should be a landed proprietor, for though a ceorl had a helm, mail, and a gold-handled sword, yet if he had no land, the laws declare that he must still remain a ceorl ⁴⁵.

THE thegns were of two descriptions. The inferior sort was called thegn, and the superior were distinguished as king's thegns. The laws recognise these two descriptions. A king's thegn accused of homicide was to acquit himself of guilt by twelve king's thegns; a thegn of lessa maga with eleven

⁴³ Wilk. Leg. 61.

⁴⁴ Ib. 62.

⁴⁵ Ib. 70.

of his equals⁴⁶. The here-geat, or heriot of the king's thegn, that ~~was~~ nearest to him, was two horses saddled, and two not saddled, two swords, four spears, shields, helms, and mails, and fifty mancus of gold. But the here-geat of a common thegn was but one horse, and his trapping and arms⁴⁷. By comparing these heriots, we may see how greatly superior the rank of the king's thegn was esteemed.

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THE inferior thegns appear to have been numerous. In every borough, says a law, thirty-three thanes were chosen to witness. In small burghs, and to every hundred, twelve were to be selected⁴⁸.

THEGNS are twice mentioned in the laws as thegns born so⁴⁹. Perhaps the title was attached to their landed property, and descended with it. In the Domesday survey many lands are mentioned in several counties, which are called "Terra taino-rum;" the land of the thegns.

If a thegn had a church in his boclande, with a place of burial, he was to give to the church one-third of his own tenths; if he had not a burial-place, he was to give what he chose out of the nine parts⁵⁰.

THE king's-thegn was the thegn of office. No one was to have any socne or jurisdiction over him but the king⁵¹.

THE thegn seems to have been a military noble. It is the Saxon word usually applied in those times to denote what the word miles signified.

⁴⁶ Wilk. Leg. 47.

⁴⁷ Ib. 144.

⁴⁸ Ib. 80.

⁴⁹ Ib. 125. 27.

⁵⁰ Ib. 130. 144.

⁵¹ Ib. 118.

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WE have learnt from Domesday-book that for the tenure of five hides of land the owner was liable to the fyrd or Saxon militia. We have also found that the tenure of five hides of land was essential to the dignity of thegn. To be king's thegn seems to have been a sort of feudal dignity, for which military service in the fyrd was imposed. The king's thegn is mentioned in the laws as attending in his expeditions, and as having a thegn under him ⁵².

THE thegn was also a magistrate, and might lose his dignity. The laws declared that if a judge decided unjustly, he should pay to the king one hundred and twenty shillings, unless he could swear that he knew no better, and he was to lose his thegn-scipe, unless he could afterwards buy it of the king ⁵³.

THEY are thus mentioned by Edgar: "In every byrig and in every scire I will have my kingly rights, as my father had, and my thegns shall have their thegn-ship in my time, as they had in my father's ⁵⁴."

HIS were was two thousand thrymsa ⁵⁵. It is elsewhere stated as equal to that of six ceorles, or twelve hundred shillings ⁵⁶. If a thief took refuge with a thegn, he was allowed three days' asylum ⁵⁷.

THE judicial magistracy of the thegns appears from their assisting at the shire-gemots. The Northmen had also a dignity of this sort, for thegns are mentioned in Snorre.

⁵² Wilk. Leg. 71.⁵³ Ib. 77. 135.⁵⁴ Ib. 80.⁵⁵ Ib. 71.⁵⁶ Ib. 64.⁵⁷ Ib. 63.

BOOK V.

The History of the Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

CHAP. I.

Homicide.

TO trace the principles on which the laws of ^{CHAP. I.} various nations have been formed, has been at all times an interesting object of intellectual exertion; and as the legislation of the more polished periods of states is much governed by its ancient institutions, it will be important to consider the principles on which our Anglo-Saxon forefathers framed their laws to punish public wrongs, and to redress civil injuries.

It will not be expected that we should give a complete commentary on the Saxon criminal law in that narrow compass within which we are obliged to confine each division of our present volume. But we will endeavour to trace the progress of the Saxon legislation in some of its more prominent features, and in the principal offences. We shall select for this purpose, homicide, personal injuries, theft, and adultery.

THE principle of pecuniary punishment pervades the laws of the Anglo-Saxons and of all the Ger-

B O O K man nations. Whether it arose from the idea that
 { **V.** the punishment of crime should be attended with
 some benefit to the individual injured, or his family, or his lord; or whether, in their fierce dispositions and warring habits, death was less dreaded as an evil than poverty; or whether the great were the authors of most of the crimes committed, and it was easier to make them responsible in their property than in their lives, we cannot at this distant æra decide: but we will endeavour to select a few of the principles by which the pecuniary compensations and forfeitures appear to have been regulated.

THE SAXONS made many distinctions in **HOMICIDES**. The life of every man was protected, not by the penalty of his murderer's death, but by the pecuniary exactions which were to follow the homicide. All ranks of men were not, however, esteemed of equal value in the eye of the Saxon law, nor their lives equally worth protecting. The Saxons had therefore established many nice distinctions in this respect. Our present legislation considers the life of one man as sacred as that of another, and will not admit the degree of the crime of murder to depend on the rank or property of the deceased. Hence a peasant is now as secured from wilful homicide as a nobleman. It was otherwise among the Saxons.

THE protection which every man received was a curious exhibition of legislative arithmetic. Every man was valued at a certain sum, which was called his were, and whoever took his life was punished by having to pay this were.

THE were was the compensation allotted to the family or relations of the deceased for the loss of his life. But the Saxons had so far advanced in legislation as to consider homicide as a public as well as private wrong. Hence, besides the redress appointed to the family of the deceased, another pecuniary fine was imposed on the murderer, which was called the wite. This was the satisfaction to be rendered to the community for the public wrong which had been committed. It was paid to the magistrate presiding over it, and varied according to the dignity of the person in whose jurisdiction the offence was committed; 12 shillings was the payment to an eorle, if the homicide occurred in his town, and 50 were forfeited to the king if the district were under the regal jurisdiction¹.

IN the first Saxon laws which were committed to writing, or which have descended to us, and which were established in the beginning of the 7th century, murder appears to have been only punishable by the were and the wite, provided the homicide was not in the servile state. If an esne, a slave, killed a man, even "unfinningly," it was not, as with us, esteemed an excusable homicide; it was punished by the forfeiture of all that he was worth². A person so punished presents us with the original idea of a felon; a feo-lun, or one divested of all property.

IN the laws of Ethelbert the were seems to have been uniform. These laws state a meduman leod-gelde, a general penalty for murder, which ap-

¹ Wilkins, p. 2, 3.

² lb. 7.

B O O K v. ^{v.} **pears** to have been 100 shillings ³. The differences of the crime arising from the quality of the deceased, or the dignity of the magistrate within whose jurisdiction it occurred, or the circumstances of the action, were marked by differences of the wite rather than of the were. The wite in a king's town was 50 shillings; in an earl's, 12. If the deceased was a freeman, the wite was 50 shillings to the king as the drichtin, the lord or sovereign of the land. So, if the act was done at an open grave, 20 shillings was the wite; if the deceased was a ceorle's, six shillings was the wite; if a læc killed the noblest guest, 80 shillings was the wite; if the next in rank, 60; if the third, 40 shillings ⁴.

THE wite and the leodgelde were to be paid by the murderer from his own property, and with good money. But if he fled from justice, his relations were made responsible for it ⁵.

THE Saxon law-makers so far extended their care as to punish those who contributed to homicide by introducing weapons among those who were quarrelling. 20 shillings composed the wite ⁶.

THE usual time for the payment of the wite and were is not stated; but 40 days is mentioned in one case as the appointed period ⁷.

As the order and civilization of the Anglo-Saxon society increased, an increased value was given to human life, and the penalties of its deprivation were augmented.

³ Wilkins, p. 2.

⁴ Ib. 1—7.

⁵ Ib. 3.

⁶ Ib. 3.

⁷ Ib.

THE first increase of severity noticed was against the *esne*, the servile. Their state of subjection rendered them easy instruments of their masters' revenge; and it was therefore found proper to make some part of their punishment extend to their owner. Hence, if any man's *esne* killed a man of the dignity of an *eorl*, the owner was to deliver up the *esne*, and make a pecuniary payment adequate to the value of three men. If the murderer escaped, the price of another man was exacted from the lord, and he was required to shew, by sufficient oaths, that he could not catch him. 300 shillings were also imposed as the compensation. If the *esne* killed a freeman, 100 shillings were the penalty, the price of one man, and the delivery of the homicide; or if he fled, the value of two men, and purgatory oaths⁸.

A SUCCEEDING king exempted the killer of a thief from the payment of his were⁹. This, however, was a mitigation that was capable of great abuse, and therefore Ina required oath that the thief was killed "sinning," or in the act of stealing, or in the act of flying on account of the theft¹⁰.

HUMANITY dictated further discrimination. A vagrant in the woods, out of the highway, who did not cry out or sound his horn (probably to give public notice of his situation), might be deemed a thief, and slain¹¹; and the homicide, by affirming that he slew him for a thief, escaped all penalties.

⁸ Wilkins, p. 7, 8.

¹⁰ Ib. 17. 20.

⁹ Ib. 12.

¹¹ Ib. 12.

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It was, however, wisely added, that if the fact were concealed, and not made known till long time after, the relations of the slave should be permitted to shew that he was guiltless¹². Mistake or malice was further guarded against by requiring that where a homicide had killed the thief in the act of flying, yet if he concealed the circumstance he should pay the penalties¹³. The concealing was construed to be presumptive proof of an unjustifiable homicide. Modern law acts on a similar presumption, when it admits the hiding of the body to be an indication of felonious discretion in an infant-murderer, between the age of 7 and 14.

In the days of Ina, the were or protecting valuation of an individual's life was not uniform. The public were arranged into classes, and each class had an appropriated were.

RANK and property seem to have been the criterion of the estimation. The were of some in Ina's time was 30 shillings; of others, 120; of others, 200¹⁴. The same principle of protection, and of discriminating its pecuniary valuation, was applied to foreigners. The were of a Welshman, who was proprietor of a hyde of land, was 120 shillings; if he had but half that quantity, it was 80; and if he had none, it was 60¹⁵. Hence it appears that the wealthier a man was, the more precious his life was deemed. This method of regulating the enormity of the crime by the property of the deceased was highly barbarous. It

¹² Wilkins, p. 18.

¹⁴ Ib. 25.

¹³ Ib. 20.

¹⁵ Ib. 20.

diminished the safety of the poor, and gave that C H A P.
superior protection to wealth which all ought ^{1.}
equally to have shared.

THE were, or compensatory payment, seems to have been made to the relations of the defunct. As the exaction of the wite, or fine to the magistrate, kept the crime from appearing merely as a civil injury, this application of the were was highly equitable. But if the deceased was in a servile state, the compensation seems to have become the property of the lord. On the murder of a foreigner, two-thirds of the were went to the king, and one-third only to his son or relations; or, if no relations, the king had one half, and the gildscipe, or fraternity to which he was associated, received the other ¹⁶.

THE curious and singular social phenomenon of the gildscipes, we have already alluded to. The members of these gilds were made to a certain degree responsible for one another's good conduct. They were in fact so many bail for each other. Thus, in Alfred's laws, if a man who had no paternal relations killed another, one-third of the were of the slain was to be paid by the maternal kinsman, and one third by the gild; and if there were no maternal kinsmen, the gild paid a moiety. On the other hand, the gild had also the benefit of receiving one-half the were, if such a man of their society were killed ¹⁷.

THE principle of making a man's society amenable for his legal conduct was carried so far, that

¹⁶ Wilkins, p. 18.

¹⁷ *Ib.* 41.

BOOK by Ina's law every one who was in the company
V. where a man was killed, was required to justify himself from the act, and all the company were required to pay a fourth-part of the were of the deceased ¹⁸.

THE same principle was established by Alfred in illegal associations. If any man with a predatory band should slay a man of the valuation of 1200 shillings, the homicide was ordered to pay both his were and the wite, and every one of the band was fined 30 shillings for being in such an association. If the guilty individual were not avowed, the whole band were ordered to be accused, and to pay equally the were and the wite ¹⁹.

THE Anglo-Saxons followed the dictates of reason in punishing in homicide those whom we now call accessories before the fact. Thus, if any one lent his weapons to another to kill with them, both were made responsible for the were. If they did not choose to pay it in conjunction, the accessory was charged with one-third of the were and the wite ²⁰. A pecuniary fine was imposed on the master of a mischievous dog ²¹.

EXCUSABLE homicide was not allowed to be done with impunity. If a man so carried a spear as that it should destroy any individual, he was made amenable for the were, but excused from the wite ²².

THUS stood the laws concerning murder up to the days of Alfred. The compact between his son

¹⁸ Wilkins, p. 20.

¹⁹ Ib. 40.

²⁰ Ib. 39.

²¹ Ib. 40.

²² Ib. 42.

Edward and Guthrun made a careful provision for the punctual payment of the were. The homicide was required to produce for this purpose the security of eight paternal and four maternal relations²³.

IN the reign of Edmund an important improvement took place. The legal severity against murder was increased on the head of the offending individual; but his kindred were guarded from the revenge of the family of the deceased. If the full were was not discharged within 12 months, the relations of the criminal were exempted from hostility, but on the condition that they afforded him neither food nor protection. If any supported him, he became what would now be termed an accessory after the fact; he forfeited to the king all his property, and was also exposed to the enmity of the relations of the deceased. The king also forbade any wite on homicide to be remitted²⁴. And whoever revenged an homicide on any other than the criminal, was declared the enemy of the king and his own friend, and forfeited his possessions. The reason alleged by the sovereign for these and his other provisions was, that he was weary of the unjust and manifold fights which occurred²⁵. The object was to extinguish that species of revenge which became afterwards known under the name of deadly feud. This was the fæththe, the enmity which the relations of the deceased waged against the kindred of the murderer.

²³ Wilkins, p. 54.

²⁴ Ib. 73, 74.

²⁵ Ib. 73.

BOOK ^{V.} **THOUGH** the wite was all the penalty that society exacted to itself for murder, and the were all the pecuniary compensation that was permitted to the family, yet we must not suppose that murder was left without any other punishment. There seems reason to believe that what has been called the deadly feud existed amongst them. The relations of the deceased avenged themselves, if they could, on the murderer or his kinsmen. The law did not allow it. The system of wites and weres tended to discountenance it by requiring pecuniary sacrifices on all homicides, and of course on those of retaliation as well as others. But as all that the law exacted was the fine and the compensation, individuals were left at liberty to glut their revenge if they chose to pay for it.

BUT this spirit of personal revenge was early restricted. Ina's laws imposed a penalty of 30 shillings, besides compensation, if any one took his own revenge before he had demanded legal redress²⁶. So Alfred's laws enjoined that if any one knew that his enemy was sitting at home, yet that he should not fight with him until he had demanded redress, but he might shut his adversary up and besiege him for seven days if he could. If at the expiration of this time the person would surrender himself, he was to have safety for thirty days, and to be given up to his friends and relations. The ealdorman was to help those who had not power enough to form this siege. If the ealdorman refused it, he was to ask aid of the king before he

²⁶ Wilkins, p. 16.

fought. So if any one fell accidentally in with his enemy, yet if the latter was willing to surrender himself he was to have peace for thirty days. But if he refused to deliver up his arms he might be fought with immediately ²⁷.

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If any one took up a thief, he not only had a reward, but the relations of the criminal were to swear that they would not take the *fæthth* or deadly feud for his apprehension ²⁸. So if any one killed a thief in the act of flying, the relations of the dead man were to swear the *unceaftes* oath; that is, the oath of no enmity, or of not taking the *fæthth* ²⁹.

EVERY man was ordered to oppose the *warfæthth* if he was able, or could dare to attempt it ³⁰.

EDMUND the First interfered to check this system of personal revenge, with marked severity, as before mentioned. He declared that the delinquent should bear his crime on his own head, and that if his kinsman did not save him by paying the compensation, they should be protected from all *fæthth*, provided that they afforded him neither *mete* nor *mund*, neither food nor shelter ³¹.

²⁷ Wilkins, p. 43, 44.

²⁸ Ib. 19.

²⁹ Wilkins and Lye call this the *unceaftes* oath, which they interpret unmeaningly *the oath not select*. The reading of the Ross. MS. is *unceaftes*, which is intelligible, and is obviously an expression synonymous with the *unfæththa* oath mentioned in the preceding page. Both passages clearly mean that the taker and killer of the thief were to be absolved from the *fæthth* of his relations.

³⁰ Ib. 22.

³¹ Ib. 73.

CHAPTER II.

PERSONAL INJURY.

THE compensation allotted to PERSONAL INJURY, arising from what modern laws would call assault and battery, was curiously arranged. It was a compensation for diminishing the value of the person with anatomical precision. The several regulations were not less accurate in defining the various degrees of wounds in which the body is lacerated, and which, from their nature, we may infer that they frequently inflicted. In such cases ancient laws there were the punishments:

For the loss of an eye or of a leg appears to have been considered as the most aggravated injury which could arise from an assault; and was therefore punished by the highest fine, or 50 shillings.

To be made lame was the next most considerable offence, and the compensation for it was 30 shillings.

For a wound that caused deafness, 25 shillings.

To lame the shoulder, divide the chine-bone, cut off the thumb, pierce the diaphragm, or to tear off the hair and fracture the skull, was each punished by a fine of 20 shillings.

For breaking the thigh, cutting off the ears, wounding the eye or mouth, wounding the diaphragm, or injuring the teeth so as to affect the speech, was exacted 12 shillings.

For cutting off the little finger, 11 shillings.

For cutting off the great toe, or for tearing off ^{C H A P.} the hair entirely, 10 shillings. _{31.}

For piercing the nose, 9 shillings.

For cutting off the forefinger, 8 shillings.

For cutting off the gold finger, for every wound in the thigh, for wounding the ear, for piercing both cheeks, for cutting either nostril, for each of the front teeth, for breaking the jaw-bone, for breaking an arm, 6 shillings.

For seizing the hair so as to hurt the bone, for the loss of either of the eye-teeth, or of the middle finger, 4 shillings.

For pulling the hair so that the bone became visible; for piercing the ear, or one cheek; for cutting off the thumb nail, for the first double tooth, for wounding the nose with the fist, for wounding the elbow, for breaking a rib, or for wounding the vertebrae, 3 shillings.

For every nail (probably of the fingers), and for every tooth beyond the first double tooth, 1 shilling.

For seizing the hair, 50 scættas.

For the nail of the great toe, 30 scættas.

For every other nail, 10 scættas.

To judge of this scale of compensations by modern experience there seems to be a gross disproportion, not only between the injury and the compensation in many instances, but also between the different classes of compensation. Six shillings is a very inconsiderable recompense for the pain and confinement that follows an arm or the jaw bone broke, and it seems absurd to rank in punishment with these serious injuries the loss of a front tooth.

B O O K ^{v.} To value the thumb at a higher price than the fingers is reasonable; but to estimate the great toe at 12 shillings, the little finger at 11s. the fore finger at 8s., the ring finger at 6s. and the middle finger at 4s., seems a very capricious distribution of recompense. So the teeth seem to have been valued on no principle intelligible to us: a front tooth was atoned for by 6s., an eye tooth by 4s., the first double tooth 3s., either of the others 1s. Why to lame the shoulder should occasion a fine of 20 shillings, and to break the thigh but 12, and the arm but 6, cannot be explained, unless we presume that the surgical skill of the day found the cure of the arm easier than of the thigh, and that easier than the shoulder¹.

ALFRED made some difference in these compensations, which may be seen in his laws².

HE also appointed penalties for other personal wrongs.

IF any one bound a ceorle unfinning he was to pay ten shillings; twenty if he whipped him, and thirty if he brought him to the pillory. If he shaved him in such a manner as to expose him to derision, he forfeited ten shillings, and thirty shillings if he shaved him like a priest, without binding him; but if he bound him and then gave him the clerical tonsure, the penalty was doubled. Twenty shillings was also the fine if any man cut another's beard off³. These laws prove the value that was attached to the hair and the beard in the Anglo-Saxon society.

¹ Wilkins, 4—6.

² Ib. 44—46.

³ Ib. 42.

ALFRED also enjoined that if any man carrying a spear on his shoulder pierced another, or wounded his eyes, he paid his were, but not a wite. If it was done wilfully the wite was exacted, if he had carried the point three fingers higher than the shaft. If the weapon was carried horizontally he was excused the wite ^{CHAP. II.}†.

† Wilkins, ib.

CHAP. III.

*Theft.*BOOK
V.

THEFT appears to have been considered as the most enormous crime; and was, as such, severely punished. If we consider felony to be a forfeiture of goods and chattels, theft was made felony by the Anglo-Saxons in their earliest law; for if a freeman stole from a freeman, the compensation was to be threefold; the king had the wite and all his goods ¹.

THE punishment was made heavier in proportion to the social rank of the offender. Thus, while a freeman's theft was to be atoned for by a triple compensation, the servile were only subjected to a twofold retribution ².

THE punishment of theft was soon extended farther. By the laws of Wihtræd if a freeman was taken with the theft in his hand, the king had the option of killing him, of selling him, or receiving his were ³.

INA aggravated the punishment yet more. If the wife and family of a thief witnessed his offence, they were all made to go into slavery ⁴. The thief himself was to lose his life, unless he could redeem it by paying his were ⁵. Ina's law defines these kinds of offenders. They were called thieves if

¹ Wilk. p. 2.² Ib. 7.³ Ib. 12.⁴ Ib. 16.⁵ Ib. 17.

no more than seven were in a body ; but a collection of above seven up to thirty-five was a hloth ; a greater number was considered as an here or an army⁶ : distinct punishments were allotted to these sorts of offenders.

THE Saxon legislators were never weary of accumulating severities against thieves ; the amputation of the hand and foot was soon added⁷. If a man's geneat stole, the master himself was subjected to a certain degree of compensation⁸. A reward of ten shillings was allowed for his apprehension⁹ ; and if a thief taken was suffered to escape, the punishment for the neglect was severe¹⁰.

IN the reign of Ethelstan, a milder spirit introduced a principle, which has continued to prevail in our criminal jurisprudence ever since, and still exists in it. This was that no one should lose his life for stealing less than twelve-pence. The Saxon legislators added indeed a proviso, which we have dropped ; " unless he flies or defends himself "¹¹.

THEY introduced another mitigating principle, which we still attend to in practice, though not in theory. This was, that no youth under fifteen should be executed. The same exception of his flight or resistance was here also added¹² ; his punishment was to be imprisonment, and bail was to be given for his good behaviour. If his relations would not give the bail he was to go into slavery. If he afterwards stole, he might be hanged¹³.

⁶ Wilk. p. 17.

⁷ Ib. 18. 20.

⁸ Ib.

⁹ Ib. 19.

¹⁰ Ib. 20.

¹¹ Ib. 70.

¹² Ib.

¹³ Ib.

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THE many provisions made for the public purchases of goods before witnesses, or magistrates, seem to have arisen partly from the frequency of thefts in those days, and partly from the severity with which they were punished. To escape this it was necessary that every man, and especially a dealer in goods, should be always able to prove his legal property in what he possessed. Hence, in Athelstan's laws, it is enacted, that no purchases above twenty pennies should be made outside the gate; but that such bargains should take place within the town, under the witness of the port geref, or some unlying man, or of the gerefas in the folc gemot¹⁴.

¹⁴ Wilk. p. 58.

CHAP. IV.

Adultery.

THE criminal intercourse between the sexes is not punished among us as a public wrong committed against the general peace and order of society. No personal punishments, and no criminal prosecutions can be directed against it, although the most trifling assault and the most inconsiderable misdemeanor are liable to such consequences. It is considered by us, if unaccompanied by force, merely as a matter of civil injury, for which the individual must bring an action and get what damages he can; and even this right of action is limited to husbands and fathers, and the latter sues under the guise of a fiction, pretending to have sustained an injury by having lost the service of his daughter.

OUR Saxon legislators did not leave the punishment of this intercourse to the will and judgment of individuals. But they enacted penalties against it as a public wrong, always punishable when it occurred. In the amount of the penalty, however, they followed one of the great principles of their criminal legislation, and varied it according to the rank of the female. The offence with a king's maiden incurred a payment as high as to kill a freeman, which was fifty shillings¹; with his grind-

¹ Wilk. p. 2.

B O O King servant half that sum, and with his third fort
 { **v.** } twelve shillings.

WITH an earl's cupbearer the penalty was twelve shillings, which was the same that attached if a man killed another in an earl's town. With a ceorle's cupbearer six shillings was the fine, fifty *scættas* for his other servant, and thirty for his servant of the third kind².

EVEN the poor servile *esne* was protected in his domestic happiness. To invade his connubial rights incurred the penalty of a double compensation³.

FORCIBLE violation was chastised more severely. If the sufferer was a widow, the offender paid twice the value of her *mundbyrd*. If she were a maiden, fifty shillings were to be paid to her owner, whether father or master, and the invader of her chastity was also to buy her for his wife at the will of her owner. If she was betrothed to another in money, he was to pay twenty shillings; and if she was pregnant, in addition to a penalty of thirty-five shillings, a further fine of fifteen shillings was to be paid to the king⁴.

THE next laws subjected adulterers to ecclesiastical censure and excommunication, and enjoined the banishment of foreigners who would not abandon such connections⁵. The pecuniary penalties were also augmented.

THE laws remained in this state till the time of Alfred, when some new modifications of connection were introduced. He governed the punishment of adultery by the rank of the husband. If

² Wilk. p. 3. ³ Ib. p. 7. ⁴ Ib. p. 7. ⁵ Ib. p. 10.

he was a twelf hind-man the offender paid one hundred and twenty shillings. If a syxhynd-man, one hundred shillings. If a ceorle, forty shillings. This was to be paid in live property, but no man was to be personally fold for it ⁶.

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BUT the most curious part of Alfred's regulations on this subject was the refinement with which he distinguished the different steps of the progress towards the completion of the crime. To handle the neck of a ceorle's wife incurred a fine of five shillings. To throw her down, without further consequences, occasioned a penalty of ten shillings; and for a subsequent commission of the crime, sixty shillings ⁷.

BUT as we now allow the previous misconduct of the wife to mitigate the amount of the damages paid by the adulterer; so Alfred and his witan provided that if the wife had transgressed before, the fines of her paramour were to be reduced an half ⁸.

FOR the rape of a ceorle's slave five shillings were to be paid the owner, and sixty shillings for the wite. But the violence of a theow on a fellow slave was punished by a personal mutilation ⁹.

⁶ Willk. p. 37.

⁷ Ib.

⁸ Ib.

⁹ Ib. 40.

C H A P. V.

*The Were and the Mund.*BOOK
V.

AS the Were and the Mund are expressions which occur frequently in the Saxon laws, it may be useful to explain what they mean.

EVERY man had the protection of a were and the privilege of a mund. The WERE was the legal valuation of an individual, varying according to his situation in life.

IF he was killed, it was the sum his murderer had to pay for the crime—if he committed crimes himself, it was the penalty which, in many cases, he had to discharge.

THE were was therefore the penalty by which his safety was guarded, and his crimes prevented or punished. If he violated certain laws, it was his legal mulct; if he were himself attacked, it was the penalty inflicted on others. Hence it became the measure and mark of a man's personal rank and consequence, because its amount was exactly regulated by his condition in life.

THE King's were geld or were payment was thirty thousand thrymsas, or one hundred and twenty pounds; an etheling's was fifteen thousand; a bishop and ealderman's eight thousand; a holde's and heh-gerefa's four thousand; a thegn two thousand, or twelve hundred shillings; a ceorle's two hundred and sixty-six thrymsas, or two hundred shillings, unless he had five hides of land at the king's expeditions, and then his were became that

of a thegn. The were of a twelfhynd man was CHAP.
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one hundred and twenty shillings, of a fyx hynd
man was eighty shillings, and of a twy hynd man
thirty shillings¹.

A Welchman's were who had some land, and paid gafol to the king, was two hundred and twenty shillings; if he had only half a hide of land, it was eighty shillings; and if he had no land, but was free, it was seventy shillings.

THE amount of a person's were determined even the degree of his legal credibility. The oath of a twelfhind man was equal to the oaths of six ceorles; and if revenge was taken for the murder of a twelfhynd man it might be wrecked on six ceorles².

To be deprived of this were was the punishment of some crimes, and then the individual lost his greatest social protection.

THE MUNDBYRD was a right of protection or patronage which individuals possessed for their own benefit and that of others. The violation of it towards themselves, or those whom it sheltered, was punished with a severity, varying according to the rank of the patron. The king's mundbyrd was guarded by a penalty of fifty shillings. That of a widow of an earle's condition was equally protected, while the mund of the widow of the second sort was valued at twenty shillings, of the third sort at twelve shillings, and of the fourth sort at six shillings. If a widow was taken away against her consent, the compensation was to be twice her mund. The penalty of violating a ceorl's mund

¹ Wilkins, p. 71, 72. 25.

² Ib.

³ Ib.

BOOK^{v.} was six shillings⁴. This privilege of the mund seems to be the principle of the doctrine, that every man's house is his castle.

THE mund was the guardian of a man's household peace as the were was of his personal safety. If any one drew a weapon where men were drinking, and the floor was stained with blood, besides forfeiting to the king fifty shillings, he had to pay a compensation to the master of the house for the violation of his mundbyrd⁵.

⁴ Wilkins, p. 2. 7.

⁵ Ib. 9.

CHAP. VI.

Their Borh, or Sureties.

THE system of giving sureties or bail, to answer an accusation, seems to have been co-eval with the Saxon nation, and has continued to our times. In one of our earliest laws it was provided, that the accused should be bound over by his sureties to answer the crime of which he was accused, and to do what the judges should appoint.

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If he neglected to find bail he was to forfeit twelve shillings¹. These bail were not to be taken indiscriminately; for the laws of Ina enact, that the bail might be refused if the magistrate knew that he acted right in the refusal².

FELONIES are notailable now; in the Anglo-Saxon times it was otherwise.

If a man was accused of theft he was to find borh or sureties; if he could not do this, his goods were taken as security. If he had none he was imprisoned till judgment³.

WHEN a homicide pledged himself to the payment of the were, he was to find borh for it. The borh was to consist of twelve sureties; eight from the paternal line, and four from the maternal⁴.

If a man was accused of witchcraft, he was to find borh to abstain from it⁵.

¹ Wilk. p. 8.² Ib. 21.³ Ib. 50.⁴ Ib. 54.⁵ Ib. 57.

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If a man was found guilty of theft by the ordeal, he was to be killed, unless his relations would save him by paying his were and ceap-gyld, and give borh for his good behaviour afterwards⁶.

BUT the most curious part of the Saxon borh was not the sureties which they who were accused or condemned were to find to appear to the charge or to perform the judgment pronounced; but it was the system that every individual should be under bail for his good behaviour.

It has been mentioned that Alfred is stated to have divided England into counties, hundreds, and tythings—that every person was directed to belong to some tything or hundred, and that every hundred and tenth were pledged to the preservation of the public peace, and answerable for the conduct of their inhabitants⁷.

OF this statement it may be only doubted whether he divided England into counties or shires. These divisions certainly existed before Alfred. The shire is mentioned in the laws of Ina⁸, and we know that the counties of Kent, Essex, Suffex existed as little kingdoms from the first invasion of the Saxons. Of the other counties we also find many expressly mentioned in the Saxon history anterior to Alfred's reign.

It may however be true, that he may have separated and named some particular shires, and this partial operation may have occasioned the whole of the general fact to be applied to him.

⁶ Wilk. p. 65. ⁷ 2 Hist. Anglo-Saxons, p. 377.

⁸ Wilk. p. 20. 16.

THE system of placing all the people under borh C H A P.
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 originated from Altfred, according to the historians ; but we first meet with it clearly expressed in the laws in the time of Edgar. By his laws, it is thus directed : “ Every man shall find and have borh, “ and the borh shall produce him to every legal “ charge, and shall keep him, and if he have done “ any wrong and escapes, his borh shall bear what “ he ought to have borne. But if it be theft, and “ the borh can bring him forward within twelve “ months, then what the borh paid shall be re- “ turned to him.”

THIS important and burthensome institution is thus again repeated by the same prince : “ This is “ then what I will ; that every man be under borh, “ both in burghs and out of them ; and where this “ has not been done, let it be settled in every bo- “ rough and in every hundred.”

IT is thus again repeated in the laws of Ethelred : “ Every freeman shall have true borh that the “ borh may hold him to every right, if he should “ be accused.” The same laws direct that if the accused should fly and decline the ordeal, the borh was to pay to the accuser the ceap gyld, and to the lord his were¹². And as to that part of the population which was in the servile state, their lords were to be the sureties for their conduct¹³.

THE man who was accused and had no borh, might be killed and buried with the infamous¹⁴.

NOTHING seems more repugnant to the decorous feelings of manly independence than this slavish

⁹ Wilk. p. 78.

¹⁰ Ib. 80.

¹¹ Ib. 102.

¹² Ib.

¹³ Ib.

¹⁴ Ib. 103.

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bondage and anticipated criminality. It degraded every man to the character of an intended culprit; as one whose propensities to crime were so flagrant that he could not be trusted for his good conduct, to his religion, his reason, his habits, or his honour. Every one was presumed to be so full of innate vice, that nothing could save society from universal iniquity, but that every one should find legal sureties that he would not commit it. Such a law was a libel on human nature, and must have created more depravity than it prevented. This indeed seems to have been experienced; for no period more abounded with political or social vices and calamities than the reigns which followed the establishment of this law, if we date it from Edgar.

CHAP. VII.

Their Legal Tribunals.

THE supreme legal tribunal was the witenagemot, which, like our present house of lords, was paramount to every other. CHAP. VII.

THE scire gemots may be next mentioned. One of these has been mentioned in the chapter on the disputes concerning land: another may be described from the Saxon apograph which Hickeys has printed.

THIS was a shire-gemot at Aylston in Canut's days. It was composed of a bishop, an ealdorman, the son of an ealdorman; of two persons who came with the king's message or writ; the sheriff, or feir-gerefa; three other men, and all the thegns in Herefordshire.

To this gemot Edwin came, and spake against his mother concerning some lands. The bishop asked who would answer for her. Thurcil the White said, he would if he knew the complaint, but that he was ignorant about it. Three thegns of the gemot were shewn where she lived, and rode to her, and asked her what dispute she had about the land for which her son was impleading her. She said she had no land which belonged to him, and was angry, earl-like, against her son. She called Leofleda, her relation, the wife of Thurcil the White, and before them thus addressed her: "Here sits Leofleda my kinswoman; I give thee both

BOOK V. "my lands, my gold, and my cloaths, and all that
 "I have after my life." She then said to the
 thegns, "Do thegn-like, and relate well what I have
 "said to the gemot before all the good men, and
 "tell them to whom I have given my lands and
 "my property; but to my own son nothing, and
 "pray them to be witnesses of this."—And they
 did so, and rode to the gemot, and told all the
 good men there what she had said to them. Then
 stood up Thurcil the White in that gemot, and
 prayed all the thegns to give his wife the lands
 which her relation had given to her; and they did
 so; and Thurcil the White rode to St. Ethelbert's
 minster, by all the folk's leave and witnesses, and left
 it to be set down in one Christ's book¹.

By the laws of Canute it was ordered, that there
 should be two shire-gemots and three burgh-gemots
 every year, and the bishop and the ealdorman
 should attend then². By the laws of Æthelstan
 punishments were ordered to those who refused to
 attend gemots³. Every man was to have peace in
 going to the gemot and returning from it, unless
 he were a thief⁴.

SOMETIMES a gemot was convened from eight
 hundreds, and sometimes from three⁵. On one
 occasion the ealdorman of Ely held a plea with a
 whole hundred below the cemetery at the north gate
 of the monastery; at another time, a gemot of
 two hundreds was held at the north door of the
 monastery⁶.

¹ Hickes' Dissert. Epist. p. 2.

² Wilkins, p. 136.

³ Wil. p. 60.

⁴ Ib. p. 136.

⁵ 3 Gale, 469. 473.

⁶ Ib. 473. 475.

A SHIRE GEMOT is mentioned at which the ealdor-
 man and the king's gerefá, presided. "The cause
 "having been opened, and the reasons of both sides
 "heard, by the advice of the magnates there, thirty-
 "six barons, chosen in equal number from the
 "friends on both sides, were appointed judges."
 These went out to examine the affair, and the monks
 were asked why and from whose donation they pos-
 sessed that land. They stated their title and length of
 possession. They were asked if they would dare to
 affirm this statement on the sacrament, that the con-
 troversy might be terminated. The monks were
 going to do this, but the ealdorman would not
 suffer them to swear before a secular power. He
 therefore declared himself to be their protector; the
 witness of their devotion and credibility, alleging
 that the exhibition of the cautionary oath belonged
 to him. All who were present admired the speech
 of the ealdorman, and determined that the oath was
 unnecessary, and for the false suit and unjust vexa-
 tion of the relations who had claimed the lands
 from the monastery, they adjudged all the landed
 property and goods of the other to be at the king's
 mercy. The king's gerefá, and the other great
 men then interfered, and the complainant perceiving
 the peril of his situation, publicly abjured the land
 in question, and pledged his faith never to disturb
 the monastery in its possession: a reconciliation
 then took place⁷. The administration of justice in
 this affair seems to have been very summary and
 arbitrary, and not very compatible with our notions
 of legal evidence.

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⁷ 3 Gale, 416.

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WE have one account of a criminal prosecution. A wife having poisoned a child, the bishop cited her and her husband to the gemot ; he did not appear, though three times summoned. The king in anger sent his writ, and ordered him, that " admitting no " causes of delay," he should hasten to the court. He came, and before the king and the bishop affirmed his innocence. It was decreed that he should return home, and that on the summons of the bishop he should attend on a stated day at a stated place, with eleven jurators, and that his wife should bring as many of her sex, and clear their fame and the conscience of others by oath. On the appointed day, and in the meadow where the child was buried, the cause was agitated. The relics, which an abbot brought, were placed upon a hillock, before which the husband, extending his right arm, swore that he had never consented to his son's death, nor knew his murderer, nor how he had been killed. The wife denying the fact, the hillock was opened by the bishop's command, and the bones of the child appeared. The wife at last fell at the prelate's feet, confessed the crime, and implored mercy. The conclusion of the whole was, that the accused gave a handsome present of land to the ecclesiastics concerned, as a conciliatory atonement³.

A BISHOP having made a contract for land with a drunken Dane, the seller, when sober, refused to fulfil it. The cause was argued in the king's forum ; the fact of the bargain was proved ; and the king ad-

³ 3 Gale, 440.

judged the land to the bishop, and the money to the Dane⁹. The forum regis is mentioned again¹⁰. C H A P.
VII.

THE FOLC GEMOT occurs in the laws. "It is
 " established for ceap-men or merchants, that they
 " bring the men that they lead with them before
 " the king's gerefæ in the folc-gemot, and say how
 " many of them there be, and that they take these
 " men up with them, that they may bring them
 " again to the folc-gemot, if sued. And when
 " they shall want to have more men with them in
 " their journey, they shall announce it as often as
 " it occurs to the king's gerefæ, in the witness of
 " the folc-gemot¹¹."

THESE folc-gemots were ordered not to be held on a Sunday; and if any one disturbed them by a drawn weapon, he had to pay a wite of one hundred and twenty shillings to the ealdorman¹².

THE following may be considered as proceedings before a folc-gemot. Begmund having unjustly seized some lands of a monastery when the ealdorman came to Ely, the offenders were summoned to the placitum of the citizens and of the hundred several times, but they never appeared. The abbot did not desist, but renewed his pleading, both within and without the city, and often made his complaint to the people. At length the ealdorman coming to Cambridge, held a great placitum of the citizens and hundreds before twenty-four judges. There the abbot narrated before all how Begmund

⁹ 3 Gale, 442.

¹⁰ Ib. 444.

¹¹ Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 41.

¹² Wilk. 42.

BOOK ^{V.} had seized his lands, and though summoned had not appeared. They adjudged the land to the abbot, and decreed Bægmund to pay the produce of his fishery to the abbot for six years, and to give the king the were; and, if he neglected to pay, they authorized a seizure of his goods¹³.

MUCH of their judicial proceedings rested on oaths, and therefore their punishment of perjury was severe. A perjured man is usually classed with witches, murderers, and the most obnoxious beings in society; he was declared unworthy of the ordeal; he was disabled from being a witness again, and if he died he was denied Christian burial¹⁴.

WE have some specimens of the oaths they took.

THE oath of a plaintiff in the case of theft was:

"In the Lord: As I urge this accusation with full
"folk-right, and without fiction, deceit, or any
"fraud; so from me was that thing stolen of
"which I complain, and which I found again
"with N."

ANOTHER oath of a plaintiff was: "In the
"Lord; I accuse not N. neither for hate, nor art,
"nor unjust avarice, nor do I know any thing
"more true, but so my mind said to me, and I
"myself tell for truth that he was the thief of my
"goods."

A DEFENDANT'S oath was: "In the Lord: I am
"innocent both in word and deed of that charge
"of which N. accused me."

¹³ Hist. El. 3 Gale, 478. ¹⁴ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 53. 61. 49.

A WITNESS'S oath was : " In the name of the Al- c h a p.
" mighty God : As I here stand in true witness ^{vii.}
" unbidden and unbought ; so I oversaw it with
" mine eyes and overheard it with mine ears, what
" I have said."

THE oath of those who swore for others was :
" In the Lord : the oath is clean and upright
" that N. swore ¹⁵."

¹⁵ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 63, 64.

C H A P. VIII.

Their Ordeals and legal Punishments.

BOOK
V. **W**E have a full account of the Anglo-Saxon ordeals of hot water and hot iron in the laws of Ina.

THE iron was to be three pounds in weight for the three fold trial, and therefore probably one pound only for the more simple charge, and the accused was to have the option whether he would prefer the water "ordal" or the iron "ordal."

No man was to go within the church after the fire was lighted by which the ordeal was to be heated, except the priest and the accused. The distance of nine feet was to be then measured out from the stake of the length of the foot of the accused. If the trial was to be by hot water, the water was heated till it boiled furiously, and the vessel that contained it was to be iron or copper, lead or clay.

If the charge was of the kind they called anfeald or simple, the accused was to immerge his hand as far as the wrist in the water, to take out the stone; if the charge was of threefold magnitude he was to plunge his arm up to the elbow.

WHEN the ordeal was ready, two men were to enter of each side, and to agree that the water was boiling furiously. Then an equal number of men were to enter from each side, and to stand along the church on both sides of the ordeal, all fasting.

After this the priest was to sprinkle them with holy water, of which each was to taste; they were to kiss the gospels, and to be signed with the cross. All this time the fire was not to be mended any more; but the iron, if the ordeal was to be by hot iron, was to lay on the coals till the last collect was finished; and it was then to be placed on the staples which were to sustain it. C H A P.
VIII.

WHILE the accused was snatching the stone out of the water, or carrying the hot iron for the space of nine feet, nothing was to be said but a prayer to the Deity to discover the truth. The hand was to be then bound up and sealed, and to be kept so for three days; after that time the seal and the bandage were removed, and the hand was to be examined to see whether it was foul or clear.

FROM this plain account, the ordeal was not so terrible as it may at first sight appear; because independently of the opportunity which the accused had, by going alone into the church, of making terms with the priest, and of the ease with which his dexterity could have substituted cold iron or stone for the heated substances at the moment of the trial, and the impossibility of the detection, amid the previous forms of the holy water, the diminution of the fire, prayers on the occasion, and the distance of the few spectators; independently of these circumstances, the actual endurance of the ordeal admitted many chances of acquittal. It was not exacted that the hand should not be burnt, but that after the space of three days it should not exhibit that appearance which would be called foul

B O O K or guilty. As the iron was to be carried only for
 {^{v.} the space of nine of the feet of the accused, it would
 be hardly two seconds in his hand. The hand was
 not to be immediately inspected, but it was carefully
 kept from air, which would irritate the wound,
 and was left to the chances of a good constitution
 to be so far healed in three days as to discover
 those appearances, when inspected, which were al-
 lowed to be satisfactory. Besides there was no
 doubt much preparatory training, suggested by the
 more experienced, which would indurate the epi-
 dermis so much as to make it less sensible to the
 action of the hot substances which it was to
 hold ².

ORDEALS were forbidden on festivals and fast-
 days ³.

OF the single ordeal it was ordered, that if the
 persons had been accused of theft, and were found
 guilty by it, and did not know who would be their
 borh, they should be put into prison, and be treated
 as the laws had enjoined ⁴.

AN accused mint-master was to undergo the
 ordeal of the hot iron ⁵.

THE ordeal might be compounded for ⁶.

THE law of Æthelstan added some directions as
 to the ordeal. Whoever appealed to it was to go
 three nights before to the priest who was to transact
 it, and should feed on bread and salt, water and
 herbs. He was to be present at the masses in the
 mean time, and make his *offerings* and receive the

² Some authors have mentioned the preparations that
 were used to indurate the skin.

³ Wilk. p. 53. ⁴ Ib. p. 57. ⁵ Ib. 59. ⁶ Ib. 60.

holy sacrament on the day of his going through the ordeal, and he should swear that with folc-right he was guiltless of the accusation before he went to the ordeal. If the trial was the hot water, he was to plunge his arm half way above the elbow on the rope. If the ordeal was the iron, three days were to pass before it was examined. They who attended were to have fasted, and not to exceed twelve in number of either side, or the ordeal was to be void unless they departed ^{C H A P. VIII.} ^{VIII.} ^{VIII.}

A THIEF found guilty by the ordeal was to be killed unless his relations redeemed him by paying his were and the value of the goods, and giving borh for his good behaviour ⁷.

THE command of the ordeals must have thrown great power into the hands of the church; and as in most cases they who appealed to them did so from choice, it is probable that whoever expressed this deference to the ecclesiastical order were rewarded for the compliment, as far as discretion and contrivance would permit.

THE ordeal was a trial not a punishment. The most popular of the legal punishments were the pecuniary mulcts. But as the imperfection and inutility of these could not be always disguised—as they were sometimes impunity to the rich, who could afford them, and to the poor, who had nothing to pay them with, other punishments were enacted. Among these we find imprisonment ⁸,

⁷ Wilk. 61.

⁸ Ib. 65. for the ordeal of other nations, see Muratori, V. and Du Cange.

⁹ Wilkins, Leg. Sax. 34. 70.

BOOK outlawry ¹⁰, banishment ¹¹, slavery ¹², and trans-
V. portation ¹³. In other cases we have whipping ¹⁴,
 branding ¹⁵, the pillory ¹⁶, amputation of limb ¹⁷,
 mutilation of the nose, and ears, and lips ¹⁸, the
 eyes plucked out, hair torn off ¹⁹, stoning ²⁰, and
 hanging ²¹. Nations not civilized will have bar-
 barous punishments.

¹⁰ Wilk. Leg. Sax. 74. Sax. Chron. ¹¹ Sax. Chron.

¹² Wilk. 12. 15. 18. 20. 50. ¹³ Ib. 12.

¹⁴ Ib. 12. 22. 52, 53. 81. ¹⁵ Ib. 139.

¹⁶ Ib. 11. 75. 54. ¹⁷ Ib. 18. 139. 134.

¹⁸ Ib. 138. 142. ¹⁹ Ib. 138.

²⁰ Ib. 67. ²¹ Ib. 18. 70. 139.

C H A P. IX.

The Trial by Jury.

IN considering the origin of the happy and wise institution of the ENGLISH JURY, which has contributed so much to the excellence of our national character, and to the support of our constitutional liberty, it is impossible not to feel considerable diffidence and difficulty. It is painful to decide upon a subject on which great men have previously differed. It is peculiarly desirable to trace, if possible, the seed bud, and progressive vegetation of a tree so beautiful and so venerable.

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It is not contested that the institution of a jury existed in the time of the Conqueror. The document which remains of the dispute between Gundulf the bishop of Rochester and Pichot the sheriff ascertains this fact. We will state the leading circumstances of this valuable account.

THE question was, Whether some land belonged to the church or to the king? "The king commanded that all the men of the county should be gathered together, that by their judgment it might be more justly ascertained to whom the land belonged." This was obviously a shire-gemot.

"THEY being assembled, from fear of the sheriff, affirmed that the land was the king's: but as the bishop of Bayeux, who presided at that placitum, did not believe them, he ordered that if

B O O K " they knew that what they said was true, they
 { **V.** " should chuse twelve from among themselves,
 " who should confirm with an oath what all had
 " declared. But these, when they had withdrawn
 " to counsel, and were there harassed by the
 " sheriff through his messenger, returned and swore
 " to the truth of what they asserted."

By this decision the land became the king's. But a monk, who knew how the fact really stood, assured the bishop of Rochester of the falsehood of their oath, who communicated the information to the bishop of Bayeux. The bishop, after hearing the monk, sent for one of the twelve, who falling at his feet, confessed that he had forsworn himself. The man on whose oath they had sworn theirs, made a similar avowal.

ON this the bishop " ordered the sheriff to send
 " the rest to London, and twelve other men from
 " the best in the county, who confirmed that to
 " be true which they had sworn."

THEY were all adjudged to be perjured, because the man whose evidence they had accredited, had avowed his perjury. The church recovered the land, and when " the last twelve wished to affirm
 " that they had not consented with those who had
 " sworn, the bishop said they must prove this by
 " the iron ordeal. And because they undertook
 " this, and could not do it, they were fined three
 " hundred pounds to the king by the judgment of
 " other men of the county¹."

By this narration we find, that a shire-gemot determined on the dispute, in the first instance; but

¹ Thorpe Regist. Roffen, 32.

that in consequence of the doubts of the presiding judge, they chose from among themselves twelve who swore to the truth of what they had decided, and whose determination decided the case. C H A P.
IX.

THE jury appears to me to be an institution of progressive growth, and its principle may be traced to the earliest Anglo-Saxon times. One of the judicial customs of the Saxons was, that a man might be cleared of the accusation of certain crimes, if an appointed number of persons came forwards and swore that they believed him innocent of the allegation. These men were literally juratores, who swore to a veredictum; who so far determined the facts of the case as to acquit the person in whose favour they swore. Such an oath, and such an acquittal, is a jury in its earliest and rudest shape; and it is remarkable that for accusations of any consequence among the Saxons of the continent, twelve juratores were the number required for an acquittal. Thus, for the wound of a noble which produced blood, or disclosed the bone, or broke a limb; or if one seized another by the hair, or threw him into the water; in these and some other cases twelve juratores were required². Similar customs may be observed in the laws of the continental Angli and Frisiones, though sometimes the number of the jury or juratores varied according to the charge; every number being appointed, from three to forty-eight³. In the laws of the Ripuarii we find that in certain cases the oaths of even fe-

² Lindenborg. Lex Sax. p. 474.

³ Lind. Lex Angli. p. 482. and Lex Fris. 490.

BOOK V. twenty-two persons were necessary to his acquittal⁴.

It is obvious, from their numbers, that these could not have been witnesses to the facts alleged. Nor can we suppose that they came forward with the intention of wilful and suborned perjury. They could only be persons who, after hearing and weighing the facts of the case, proffered their deliberate oaths that the accused was innocent of the charge. And this was performing one of the most important functions of our modern juries.

In the laws of the Alemanni the principle appears more explicitly; for in these the persons who are to take the oath of acquittal are called *nominati*, or persons named. And in the case of murdering the messenger of a dux, the juratores were to be twelve named and twelve elected⁵. This named and elected jury seems to approximate very closely to our present institution.

In referring to our own Anglo-Saxon laws we find three jurators mentioned in those of the kings of Kent, in the latter end of the seventh century. If a freeman were accused of theft, he was to make compensation, or to acquit himself by the oaths of four *þin æpda men*. These words are literally "the number of four legal men," or "four of the numbered legal men⁶." In either construction they point to a meaning similar to the *nominati* in the laws of the Alemanni; that is, persons legally appointed as jurators.

⁴ Lind. *Lex Ripuar.* p. 451.

⁵ Lind. *Lex Aleman.* p. 370, 371.

⁶ Leg. Hloth. Wilk. p. 8.

THE principle of an acquittal by the peers of CHAP.
IX. the party accused appears in the laws of Wihtræd, where the clergyman is to be acquitted by four of his equals, and the ceorlisc man by four of his own rank⁷.

AN acquittal from walreaf, or the plunder of the dead, required the oaths of forty-eight full born thegns⁸. These, of course, could not be witnesses. They must have been a selection of so many in the shire-gemot, who, on hearing the facts of the accusation, would, upon their oaths, absolve the accused; and what is this but a jury?

IN the treaty between Alfred and Guthrun more lights appear: "If any accuse the king's thegn of manslaughter (manslihtes), if he dare absolve himself, let him do it by twelve king's thegns. If the accused be less than a king's thegn, let him absolve himself by eleven of his equals, and one king's thegn⁹." Here the number of twelve, and the principle of the peers, both appear to us.

SOMETHING of the principle of a jury appears to us in these laws. "If any one takes cattle, let five of his neighbours be named, and out of these let him get one that will swear with him that he took it to himself according to folk right; and he that will implead him, let ten men be named to him, and let him get two of these and swear that it was born in his possession, without the rim athe, the oath of number, and let this cyre oath stand above twenty pennies."

⁷ Leg. Wiht. Wilk. p. 12. ⁸ Leg. Inæ. Wilk. 27.

⁹ Wilk. p. 47.

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V.

“LET him who prays condemnation for a slain thief get two paternal and one maternal relation, and give the oath that they knew of no theft in their kinsman, and that he did not deserve death for that crime, and let some twelve go and try him¹⁰.”

THIS passage seems to have an allusion to this subject.

“LET there be named in the district of every gerefa, as many men as are known to be unlying men, that they may witness every dispute, and be the oaths of these unlying men of the value of the property without choice¹¹.” These men, so named, may have been the rim œwda men noticed before.

“IF any kill a thief that has taken refuge within the time allowed, let him compensate for the mund byrde; or let some twelve absolve him that he knew not the jurisdiction¹².”

THIS injunction seems also to provide a jury. On an accusation of idolatry or witchcraft, “if it be a king’s thegn who denies it, let there be then named to him twelve, and let him take twelve of his relations, and twelve strangers, and if he fails, let him pay for the violation of the law, or ten half marcs¹³.” This seems a jury: twelve persons were to be appointed, and he was to add twelve of his kinsfolks; and this law concerning Northumbria, where they were chiefly Danes, as many foreigners were to be added. If they absolved him, he was cleared; if not, he was

¹⁰ Wilk. p. 58. ¹¹ Ib. 62. ¹² Ib. 63. ¹³ Ib. 100.

to be mulcted. It is one of the rules established C H A P.
IX. concerning our jury, that a foreigner has a right to have half of the jury foreigners.

THE following law of Ethelred has the same application.

“LET there be gemots in every wæpentace, and
“let twelve of the eldest thegns go out with the
“gerefa, and swear on the relics, which shall be
“given into their hands, that they will condemn
“no innocent man, nor screen any that is guilty ¹⁴.”
This passage seems to have no meaning but so far
as it alludes to a jury.

Two other laws are as applicable. “If any be
“accused that he has fed the man who hath broken
“our lord’s peace, let him absolve himself with
“thrinna twelve, and let the gerefa name the ab-
“solving persons; and this law shall stand where
“the thegns are of the same mind. If they differ,
“let it stand as eight of them shall declare ¹⁵.”
This is surely a jury, of whom eight constituted the
legal majority.

THERE is another passage in the laws, made by
the English witan and the Welsh counsellors, which
bears upon this subject. “Twelve lahtmen, of
“whom six shall be English and six shall be Welsh,
“shall enjoin right. They shall lose all that they
“have if they enjoin erroneously, or absolve them-
“selves that they knew no better ¹⁶.”

ON the whole it would seem that the custom of
letting the oaths of a certain number of men deter-
mine legal disputes in favour of the person for

¹⁴ Wilk. p. 117.

¹⁵ Ib. 118.

¹⁶ Ib. 125.

B O O K ^{v.} whom they swore, was the origin of the English jury. It was an improvement on this ancient custom, that the jurators were named by the court instead of being selected by the parties. It was a further progress towards our present mode of jury, that the jurators were to hear the statements of both parties before they gave their deciding verdictum, or oath of the truth. While the ordeals were popular, the trials by jurators were little used ; but as these blind appeals to Heaven became unfashionable, the process of the legal tribunals was more resorted to, and juries became more frequent.

BOOK VI.

Their Poetry, Literature, Arts, and Sciences.

CHAP. I.

The Latin Poetry of ALDHELM.

THE poetry of the Anglo-Saxons may be considered under two heads; their Latin and their vernacular poetry; and without attempting to discuss what constitutes poetry, we shall consider as such, for our present purpose, whatever the Anglo-Saxons invested with the forms of poetical versification.

THE most ancient of their Latin poetry which has descended to us, are the compositions of Aldhelm, who died in 809; his life will be given in an article of their literature. His verses are preferable to his prose, because the pompous style which he delighted to use is more congenial with the diction of poetry.

HIS poetical works which remain are these:

De laude virginum,
De octo principalibus vitiis,
Ænigmata.

TOWARDS the close of his prose treatise on virginity, he stated, that he should write on the same subject in poetry. His preface to the poem is an acrostic address to the abbess Maxima in hexameter

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verse. It consists of thirty-eight lines so fantastically written that each line begins and ends with the successive letters of the words of the first line; and thus the first and last lines, and the initial and final letters of each line consist of the same words. In the last line the words occur backwards. The final letters are to be read upwards.

METRICA TIRONES NUNC PROMANT CARMINA CASTOS

Et laudem capiat quadrato carmine virgO
 Trinus in arcē Deus, qui pollens secla creaviT
 Regnator mundi, regnans in sedibus altiS
 Indigno conferre mihi dignetur in æthrA
 Cum sanctis requiem, quos laudo versibus istiC
 Arbiter altithronus qui servat sceptrā supernA
 Tradidit his cœli per ludum scandere limeN
 Inter sanctorum cuneos qui laude perenni
 Rite glorificant moderantem regna tonanteM
 Omnitens Dominus, mundi formator et auctoR
 Nobis pauperibus confer suffragia certA
 Et ne concedas trudendos hostibus istinC
 Sed magis exiguos defendens dextera tangaT
 Ne prædo pellar cœlorum claudere limeN
 Vel sanctos valeat noxarum fallere scena
 Ne fur strophosus foveam detrudat in atraM
 Conditior a summo quos Christus servat OlympO
 Pastor ovile tuens ne possit tabula raptor
 Regales vastans caulas bis dicere pup puP
 Omnia sed custos defendat ovilia jam nunC
 Maxima præcipuum quæ gestat numine nomeN
 Addere præsidium mater dignare precatU
 Nam tu perpetuum promissisti lumine lumeN
 Titan quem clamant sacro spiramine vateS
 Cujus per mundum jubar alto splendet ab axE
 Atque polos pariter replet vibramine fulmeN
 Rex regum et princeps populorum dictus ab ævO
 Magnus de magno, de rerum regmine rectoR
 Illum nec mare nec possunt cingere cœli

Nec mare navigerum spumoso gurgite, vallaT
 Aut zonæ mundi que stipant æthera celsA
 Clarorum vitam qui castis moribus istiC
 Auxiliante Deo vernabant flore perennI
 Sanctis aggrediar studiis dicere paupeR
 Tanta tamen digne si pauper præmia prodaT
 Omnia cum nullus verbis explanat apertE
 SOTSAC ANIMRAC TNAMORP CNUN SENORIT ACIRTEM¹.

ALDHelm calls this quadratum carmen, a square verse. He was not the inventor of these idle fopperies of versification. Even the Romans had used them. The panegyric of P. O. Porphyry addressed to Constantine the Great is full of such. Fortunatus and others had also preceded Aldhelm in this tasteless path, in which authors endeavour to surprise us, not by the genius they display, but by the difficulties which they overcome.

THE poem is not divided into books or chapters. It consists of 2443 hexameter lines, the last eight of which are rhimed; the four first alternately, the others in couplets. We subjoin them.

Quis prius in spira morsum glomeravit inertem
 Idcirco cursum festinat credere Christo
 Agnoscens propriam tanta virtute salutem
 Insuper et meritum cumulavit sanguinis ostro,
 Præmia sumpturus cum cæli cætibus almīs.
 Candida post sequitur cum binis martyra fertis,
 Integritas nitidam, nec non et passio rubram
 Plumabant pariter macta virtute coronam².

THE first twenty-two lines of the poem are an invocation to the Deity. The translations of the passages which we select, as specimens of his powers, are made as literal as possible.

¹ Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 3.

² Ib. p. 19.

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ALMIGHTY Father ! Sovereign of the world !
 Whose word the lucid summits of the sky
 With stars adorn'd, and earth's foundations fram'd ;
 Who ting'd with purple flowers the lonely heath
 And check'd the wandering billows of the main
 Lest o'er the lands the foamy waves should rage :
 Hence rocks abrupt the swelling surge controul.
 Thou cheer'st the cultured field with gelid streams,
 And with thy dropping clouds the corn distends.
 Thin orbs of light expel night's dreary shade,
 Titan the day, and Cynthia tends the night :
 From thee what tribes the fields of ocean roam
 What scaly hosts in the blue whirlpools play !
 The limpid air with fluttering crowds abounds,
 Whose prattling beaks their joyful carols pour,
 And hail thee as the universal Lord ;
 Give, Merciful ! thine aid, that I may learn
 To sing the glorious actions of thy saints³.

³ OMNIPOTENS genitor mundum ditione gubernans
 Lucida stelligeri qui condis culmina cœli,
 Nec non telluris formas fundamina verbo :
 Pallida purpureo pingis qui flore vireta :
 Sic quoque fluctivagi refrenas cœrula ponti,
 Mergere ne valeant terrarum littora lymphis,
 Sed tumidos frangunt fluctus obstacula rupis :
 Arvorum gelido qui cultus fonte rigabis,
 Et segetum glumas nimbofis imbribus auge,
 Qui latebras mundi geminato fidere demis ;
 Nempe diem Titan et noctem Cynthia comit.
 Piscibus æquoreos qui campos pinguibus ornas,
 Squamigeras formans in glauco gurgite turmas
 Limpida præpetibus sic complex aera catervis,
 Garrula quæ rostris resonantes cantica pipant
 Atque creatorem diversa voce fatentur.
 Da prius auxiliûm, clemens, ut carmina possim
 Indita Sanctorum modulari gesta priorum.

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 3.

* * * * *

I seek not rustic verse, nor court the Nine,
 Nor from Castalia's nymphs their metres woe
 Said erst to guard the Heliconian hill,
 Nor, Phebus ! need I thy loquacious tongue,
 Whom fair Latona bore on Delos' isle —
 I'll rather press the Thunderer with my prayers,
 Who gave to man the lessons of his word ;
 Words from the Word I ask, whom David sang,
 Sole offspring of the Father ; and by whom
 Th' almighty Sire created all we know ;
 So may their gracious inspiration deign
 To aid their feeble servant in his lay †.

HE opens his subject by telling us that there are three descriptions of persons to whom the praise of chastity belongs ; the married who live virtuously ; the married who live as if they were single ; and they who keep in the virgin state. After above an hundred lines in praise of virginity, he proceeds to describe forty-five characters who distinguished the state which he prefers ; and this biographical panegyric forms the substance of his poem. Most of his applauded personages are only known in the calendars of the Romish church. Some of his

† Non rogo ruricolæ versus, et commata mûsas
 Non peto Castalidas metrorum cætica nymphas
 Quas dicunt Heliconæ jugum servare supernum,
 Nec precor, ut Phœbus linguam sermone loquacem
 Dedat, quem Delo peperit Latonæ creatrix —
 Sed potius nitar precibus pulsare Tonantem,
 Qui nobis placidi confert oracula Verbi,
 Verbum de verbo peto, hoc Psalmista canebat,
 Corde patris genitum, quod proles unica constat,
 Quo pater Omnipotens per mundum cuncta creavit.
 Sic patris et prolis dignetur spiritus almus
 Auxilium fragili clementer dedere servo.

BOOK images, common places, and examples, shall be
 VI. quoted.

AMID his wild and diffuse panegyric on virginity,
 the following images occur.

Now let my verses cull the rarest flowers,
 And weave the virgin crowns which grace the good,
 What can more charm celestials in our toils
 Than the pure breast by modest virtue ruled⁵?

* * * * *

The chaste who blameless keep unfulled fame
 Transcend all other worth, all other praise ;
 The Spirit high-enthroned has made their hearts
 His sacred temple⁶.

* * * * *

For chastity is radiant as the gems
 Which deck the crown of the eternal King,
 It tramples on the joys of vicious life,
 And from the heart uproots the wish impure,
 The yellow metal which adorns the world
 Springs from the miry chambers of the earth :
 So the pure soul, its image, takes its birth
 From carnal passions of terrestrial love ;
 And as the rose excels the Tyrian dyes,
 And all the gaudy colours worked by art ;
 As the pale earth the lucid gem creates
 In rustic soils beneath the dusty glebe,
 As yellow flowers shoot gaily from the corn,
 When spring revives the germinating earth :
 So sacred chastity, the dear delight

⁵ Nunc igitur raros decerpant carmina flores
 E quis virgineas valeant fabricare coronas
 Quid plus calicolas juvat in certamine nostro
 Quam integritatis amor regnans in pectore puro ?

⁶ Virginitas castam servans sine crimine carnem,
 Cætera virtutum vincit præconia laude ;
 Spiritus altithroni templum sibi vindicat almus.

Of all the colonies of heaven, is born
From the foul appetites of worldly life⁷.

* * * * *

And as the vine, whose spreading branches, bent
With stores immense, the dresser's knife despoils,
Exists the glory of the fruitful fields;
And as the stars confess th' all glorious ray,
When in his paths oblique the sun rolls round,
Transcending all the orbs which grace the poles:
So Chastity, companion of the bless'd,
Excelling, meekly, every faintly worth,
Is hailed the queen of all the virtues here⁸.

⁷ *Virginitas fulget lucens, ut gemma coronæ,
Quæ caput æterni præcingit stemmate regis:
Hoc calcat pedibus spurcæ consortia vitæ:
Funditus extirpans petulantis gaudia carnis.
Auri materiem fulvi, obrizumque metallum
Ex quibus ornatur præsentis machina mundi,
Glarea de gremio prodidit fordida terræ.
Sic casta integritas auri flaventis imago
Gignitur e purea terreni carne parentis.
Ut rosa Puniceo tinctures murice cunctas
Coccineosque simul præcellit rubra colores.
Pallida purpureas ut gignit gloria gemmas,
Pulverulenta tegit quas purea glebula ruris;
Ut flos flavesceus scandit de cortice corni
Tempore vernali, dum promit germina tellus:
Sic sacra virginitas cœlorum grata colonis
Corpore de spurco sumit primordia vitæ.*

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 4.

⁸ *Vinea frugiferis ut constat gloria campis,
Pampinus immensos dum gignit palmita botros,
Vinitor expoliât frondentes falcibus antes:
Sidera præclaro cedunt ut lumina soli,
Lustrat dum terras obliquo tramite Titan,
Cuncta supernorum convincens astra polerum:
Sic quoque virginitas quæ sanctos indita comit,
Omnia sanctorum transcendans præmia supplex
Integritas quoque virtutum regina vocatur.*

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 4.

BOOK
VI.

THE chastity which rules the virtuous frame,
A virgin flower which blooms unhurt in age,
Falls not to earth, nor sheds its changing leaves.
Behold the lillies waving in the fields,
The crimson rose, sweet blushing on the bank,
Which crowns the conquering wrestler, and becomes
The garland for the victor in the course :
So purity, subduing rebel nature,
Wins the fair diadem which Christ awards ?

* * * * *

THE peacock's many colour'd plumage waves,
And the soft circles glow with Tyrian dyes.
Its tawny beauties and its graceful form
Surpass the proudest labours of our skill ¹⁰.

WE may add from the same poem his description of the destruction of paganism, as exhibiting the degree of his powers of poetical composition.

NOR Mars, the lord of wounds, who scatters round
The seeds of war, and fills the rancorous heart
With Gorgon poisons, can assist his fanes ;
Nor Venus can avail, nor her vile boy.
The golden statues of Minerva fall,
Tho' fools proclaim her goddesses of the arts ;
Nor he for whom, as ancient fictions sing,

⁹ *Integritas animæ regnans in corpore casto
Flos est virgineus, qui nescit damna senectæ.
Nec cadit in terram ceu fronde ligustra fatiscunt.
Cernite fecundis ut vernalia lilia fulcis,
Et rosa sanguineo per dumos flore rubescat.
Ex quibus ornatus qui vincit forte palestris,
Accipit in circo victor certamine, ferta.
Haud secus integritas devicta carne, rebeli.
Pulchras gestabit Christo regnante coronas.*

Maxima Bib. Vet. patr. T. 13. p. 4.

¹⁰ *Quancquam verficolor flavescat penna pavonis
Et teretes rutilent plus rubro murice cycli,
Cujus formosa species et fulva vetustas
Omnia fabrorum porro molimina vincit.*

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 4.

The leafy vines, their precious branches spread,
 Can prop the columns nodding with their gods.
 The marbles tremble with terrific crash,
 And the vast fabric rushes into dust.
 Ev'n Neptune rumour'd sovereign of the waves,
 Who by his swelling billows rules the main,
 He cannot save his sculptur'd effigies,
 Whose marble brows the golden leaves surround.
 Not ev'n Alcides who the centaurs crush'd,
 And dar'd the fiery breath of prowling Cacus,
 When from his throat his words in flames were pour'd,
 Tho' his right hand the dreadful club may grasp
 Can shield his temples when the Christian prays¹¹.

ONE other example will be a sufficient specimen
 of his *De laude Virginum*. Two sisters were con-
 demned for refusing to sacrifice to idols. One

" Non Mars vulnificus qui belli semina spargit;
 Rancida Gorgoneis inspirans corda venenis
 Delubri statuis potuit succurrere parvis.
 Nec Venns, aut Veneris prodest spurcissima proles.
 Aurea sternuntur fundo simulacra Minervæ,
 Quamque deam stolidi dixerunt arte potentem:
 Nec Bacchus valuit, cui frondent palmitē vites,
 Ut referunt falso veterum figmenta librorum,
 Numine nutantes fani fulcire columnas.
 Sed titubant templi tremebundis marmora crustis.
 Et ruit in præceps tefcellis fabrica fractis.
 Neptunus fama dictus regnator aquarum;
 Qui regit imperium ponti turgentibus undis,
 Falsis effigies, quas glauco marmore sculpunt,
 Aurea seu fulva quas ornant petala fronte,
 Haud valuit veterum tunc sustentare deorum.
 Alcides fertur Centauri victor opimus,
 Flammea qui pressit latronis flamina Caci,
 Quamvis fumosis ructaret flabra loquelis.
 Herculis in crypta sed torquet dextera clavam
 Nec tamen in templo rigida virtute resultat,
 Quæ famulus Christi supplex oramina fudit.

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 12.

BOOK was punished first in the presence of the other, with
 VI. the hope that her constancy might be affected by
 her sister's suffering. Instead of this event Secunda's speech is thus represented by Aldhelm.

"FIRMLY," she said, "Secunda ne'er will tremble,
 Bring all your blood-stain'd tortures to oppress me :
 Your fires, your swords, your scourges red with gore,
 Your clubs, your cords, your stones that pour like hail,
 Bring all your cruel instruments of pain ;
 Yet conquering my tormentors will I triumph.
 As many means of death you fiercely frame,
 So many crowns in heav'ns bright plains will bless us."

His poem on the eight principal vices opens with
 an allusion to the preceding poem.

Thus have I sang the praises of the saints,
 Whose fame re-echoes round the concave sky.
 Now must the verse the mighty battles paint,
 Waged by the vices ; which from virgin tribes
 Withhold the kingdoms of celestial joy,
 And shut the portals of their lucid walls."

"Nam constanter ait, "nunquam tremebunda Secunda:
 Adfer cuncta simul nobis tormenta cruenta ;
 Ignes et machinas et rubras vibice virgas,
 Restes et fustes et dura grandine saxa.
 Quot tu pœnarum genera crudeliter inferis,
 Ast ego tanta feram victo tortore tropæa,
 Quot tu concinnas crudi discrimina lethi
 Tot nos in supera numerabimus arce coronas.

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 18.

"Digestis igitur sanctorum laudibus almis,
 Quorum rumores sub cœli culmine flagrant
 Restat, ut ingeutes depromant carmina pugnas,
 Ex vitiis procedentes, virtutibus atque
 Virginibus Christi quæ cœli regna negabunt,
 Florida lucifusæ claudentes limina portæ.

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 19.

THIS poem contains 458 Latin hexameters. A. F. CHAP. I.
 After an introduction of some length, it treats of the eight vices in this order: Gluttony, Luxury, Avarice, Anger, Despair, Slothfulness, Vain-glory, Pride. It closes with a diffuse peroration.

His allegorical introduction begins with these lines:

THE crowding legions gather to the war,
 Justice' fair friends and virtue's holy troops,
 'Gainst these the vices fix their camps malign,
 And whirl their thickening spears of basest deeds.
 The rival combat glows, the banners float,
 And the loud clangor of the trumpet roars⁴.

ON Luxury he exclaims:

INDECENT words from this base monster spring,
 From him scurrility and folly's gibes;
 Love, frivolous deceiver! and excess.
 Oh what illustrious men! how great, how many!
 Has this fierce enemy thrust down to hell!
 Yet could he not, tho' mask'd in beauty's shape,
 From Joseph tear th' excelling palm of virtue;
 When the voluptuous net the fair one wove,
 He spurn'd her charms, and from his garment fled,
 By this he well deserv'd the throne of Memphis⁵.

⁴ Ecce catervatim glomerant ad bella phalanges,
 Iustitiæ comites et virtutum agmina sancta,
 His adversantur vitiorum castra maligna,
 Spissa nefandarum quæ torquent spicula rerum,
 Æmula ceu pugnat populorum pugna duorum,
 Dum vexilla ferunt et clangit classica salpex.

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 19.

⁵ Ex hoc nascuntur monstro turpissima verba,
 Nec non scurrilitas et scavo ludicra gestu,
 Frivulus, et fallax amor, ac petulantia luxus.
 O quantos, qualesve viros, et laude celebres,
 Hæc Bellona ferox sub tristia Tartara trahit!
 Non sic egregium virtutis perdere palmam

His declaration on Avarice is in these phrases :

NEXT Avarice leads the war, and heads a band
Of dense array, conductress of the fight ;
She not alone the public streets pervades
With blood-stained arms and shafts in poison dipp'd.
Her base companions follow—frauds and thefts ;
A thousand lies, and actions false and vile,
Base appetites of gain, and perjuries throng
The hosts of rapine stain'd with every crime,
Heedless of oaths, join in an ardent band ¹⁶.
His first verses on Anger are,

FEROCIOUS wrath the fourth battalion calls,
And always raging hurries to the fight ;
He breaks the pious peace of brother's love,
And goads their jarring minds to mutual war ;
Hence impious slaughters—hence the shouts of rage—
And gnashing indignation clamours loud ¹⁷.

Forma venustatis valuit compellere Joseph,
Qui dominam sprevit neſtentem retia luxus,
Et ſtuprum fugiens pepli velamina liquit :
Idcirco felix meruit Memphitica ſceptra.

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 20.

¹⁶ Poſt Philargyria producit tertia bellum,
Hæc ductrix pugnae ſtipatur milite denſo.
Non ſola graditur per publica ſtrata pedestris,
Arma cruenta ferens et ſpicula lita veneno.
Hæc comites pravos, itidem mendacia mille,
Fraudes et fures, ac falſis frivola geſtis,
Appetitus turpis lucri et perjuria inepta,
Atque rapinarum maculatos crimine queſtus,
Conglobat in cuneum cum falſis teſtibus ardens.

¹⁷ Aſt vero quartam trux congregat ira catervam,
Quæ ſemper furibunda cupit diſcrimina belli :
Et ciet ad pugnam mentes diſcordia fratrum,
Dum copulata piæ diſrumpit fœdera pacis,
Ex hoc naſcuntur cædes cum ſtrage nefandæ
Et clamor vocis, ſimul indignatio frendens.

Ib. p. 20.

ON Vain Glory he exclaims :

How the false thief his lying promise pours,
To darken all the solid bliss of life !
And can it not suffice that this fair world
Which round the pole in devious motion glides,
Exists to gratify all human needs ?
Must heav'nly honors earth's frail children grasp ?
What crimes, what wrong to wretched mortals spring
From the vain passion of transcendent fame !

His *ÆNIGMATA* may be next considered. Its poetical prologue presents to us a curious instance of that fantastic and difficult versification which some men in former times pursued. Both the beginning and the final letters of the thirty-six hexameters which compose it, present to us, in succession, one of this sentence : "Aldhelmus cecinit millenis versibus odas."

ARBITER, ætherio Jupiter qui regmine sceptrA
Lucifluum que simul cœli regale tribunaL
Disponis, moderans æternis legibus illuD
Horrida nam multans torfisti membra BehemotH
Ex alto quondam rueret dum luridus arcE
Limpida dictanti metrorum carmina præfuL
Munera nunc largire : rudis quo pandere reruM
Versibus ænigmata queam clandestina fatU.
Si Deus indignis tua gratis dona rependiS
Castalidas nymphas non clamo cantibus istuC.
Examen neque spargebat mihi nectar in orE,

" O quam falsa latro spondebat frivola mendax,
Ut concessa rudis fuscaret munera vitæ,
Nonne satis foret, ut quadro cum cardine mundus,
Quem vertigo poli longis anfractibus ambit,
Usibus humanis serviret rite per ævum,
Insula terrenos nî cœli comat alumnos ?
Heu scelus, heu facinus, miseris mortalibus ortum !
Et hoc ex vana presertim gloria frētus !

Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 21.

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VI.

Cinthis sic nunquam perlustro cacumina, sed neC
 In Parnasso procubui, nec somnia vidiI.
 Nam mihi versificum poterit Deus addere carmenN
 Inspirans stolidæ pia gratis munera mentiI.
 Tangit si mentem, mox laudem corda rependuntT
 Metrica : nam Moysen declarant carmina vatemM
 Jam dudum cecinisse celebris vexilla tropæI
 Late per populos inlustria, qua nitidus SolL
 Lustrat ab Oceani jam tollens gurgite . . . L
 Et Psalmista canens metrorum carmina vocE
 Natum divino promit generamine numenN
 In cælis prius exortum, quam Lucifer orbI
 Splendida formatis fudisset lumina sæcliS.
 Verum si fuerint bene hæc ænigmata versU
 Explofis penitus nevis et rusticitatE
 Ritu dactilico recte decursa nec errorR
 Seduxit vana specie molimina mentiS ;
 Incipiam potiora ; seu Deus arida servI,
 Belligero quondam qui vires tradidit JoB,
 Viscera perpetui roris si repleat haustu.
 Siccis nam laticis duxisti cautibus amneS
 Olim, cum cuneus transgresso marmore rubroO
 Desertum penetrat : cecinit quod carmine David
 Arce poli genitor servas qui secula cunctaA
 Solvere jam scelerum noxas dignare nefandaS⁹.

THESE ænigmata consist of twenty tetrasticha or stanzas of four lines on various subjects, as the earth, the wind, clouds, nature, the rainbow, the moon, fortune, salt, the nettle, and such like—of fourteen pentasticha, of five lines, of thirteen hexasticha of six lines each, nineteen stanzas of seven lines, ten of eight lines, eleven of nine lines, and thirteen of ten lines each.

IN the collection of Boniface's letters, there is a singular Latin poem in rhyme, entitled the poem of Aldhelm, carmen Aldhelmi.

⁹ Maxima Bib. Vet. Patr. T. 13. p. 23.

As the rhimes of this composition are more remarkable than its poetry, I will cite the first few ^{I.} lines, with a prose translation in the notes.

LECTOR caste catholice
 Atque obles athleticæ
 Tuis pulsatus precibus
 Obnixè flagitantibus
 Hymnista carmen cecini
 Atque responsa reddidi
 Sicut pridem pepigeram
 Quando profectus fueram
 Usque diram Domnoniam
 Per carentem Cornubiam
 Florulentis cespitibus
 Et sæcundis graminibus
 Elementa inormia
 Atque facta informia
 Quassantur sub ætherea
 Convexa cœli camera
 Dum tremit mundi machina
 Sub ventorum monarchia.
 Ecce nœturno tempore
 Orto brumali turbine
 Quatiens terram tempestas
 Turbabat atque vastitas
 Cum fracti venti fœdere
 Baccharentur in æthere
 Et rupto retinaculo
 Desævirent in sæculo *.

THIS poem contains 204 lines in this measure.

* Chaste catholic reader and strenuous friend, urged by your prayers, earnestly intreating me, I have composed a poem and returned an answer, as I formerly agreed to do. When I went to dismal Devonshire, through barren Cornwall, on the flowering turfs and fruitful grass;—the vast elements are shaken under the æthereal convex chamber of the sky, while the machine of the world trembles under the monarchy of the winds. Lo! in the night, when the wintry whirlwind has

CHAP. II.

*The Latin Poetry of BEDE.*BOOK
VI.

OUR venerable Bede attempted Latin poetry, but the muses did not smile upon his efforts. His compositions consist of some hymns, some elegiac poetry, and the life of St. Cuthbert in hexameter verse.

THIS Life consists of a preface and forty-six chapters, which include 979 lines. It has little other merit than that of an Anglo-Saxon labouring at Latin prosody in the dark period of the seventh century. It has not the vigour or the fancy which occasionally appear in Aldhelm's versification; and therefore a few passages only will be quoted.

He begins in this humble style :

THAT many lights should shine in every age,
T'illumine the loathsome shades of human night
With his celestial flame, the Lord permits :
And tho' our light supreme is Christ divine,
Yet God has sent his saints with humbler rays
To burn within his church—with sacred fire,
Love fills their minds, and Zeal inflames their speech :
He spreads his numerous torches thro' the world,
That the new rays of burning faith diffus'd
With starry virtues every land may fill¹.

risen, the tempest shakes the earth, and desolation terrifies ;
when the bursting winds rage in the air, and having broken
through their confinement, madden on the earth.

¹ Multa suis Dominus fulgescere lumina fecit
Donavit, tetricas humanæ noctis ut umbras
Lustraret divina poli de culmine flamma.

His invocation is much inferior to Aldhelm's : C H A P.
II.
 Aid me, Supreme ! the Spirit's gifts proceed
 From thee ; and none can fitly sing thy grace
 Without thy help. Oh, thou ! who tongues of flame
 Erst gave, now send the treasures of thy word
 To him who sings thy gifts !

THE following legend is selected as a specimen
 of the general style of the narration.

THE youth now bent beneath a sudden pain,
 And led his languid footsteps with a pine :
 When on a day as in the air he plac'd
 His weary limbs, and meek yet mourning lay,
 An horseman cloth'd in snowy garments came,
 And graceful as a courser. He saluted,
 The youth reclined, who offered his obeisance,
 " My prompt attentions should be gladly paid
 " To you—if grievous pains did not withhold me :
 " See, how my knee is swelled—no leech's care
 " Thro' a long lapse of time has sooth'd the evil."

STRAIGHT leap'd the stranger from his horse, and strok'd
 The part diseased, thus counselling ; " The flour
 " Of wheat and milk, boil quickly on the fire,
 " And spread the mixture warm upon the tumour."
 Remounting then he took the road he came,
 And Cuthbert us'd his medicine and found

Et licet ipse deo natus de lumine Christus
 Lux sit summa, Deus sanctos quoque jure lucernæ
 Ecclesiæ rutilare dedit, quibus igne magistro
 Sensibus instet amor, sermonibus æstuat ardor,
 Multifidos varium lychnos qui sparsit in orbem.
 Ut cunctum nova lux fidei face fusa sub axem
 Omnia fideis virtutibus arva repleret.

Smith's Bede, p. 268.

* Tu, rogo, summe, juva, donorum spiritus auctor,
 Te sine nam digne fari tua gratia nescit,
 Flammivomisque soles dare qui nova famina linguis
 Munera da verbi linguæ tua dona canenti.

Ib.

BOOK
VI.

That his physician from th' exalted throne
Of the Supreme had come, and eas'd his pain,
As with the fish's gall he once restored
The light to poor Tobias¹.

THERE are some hymns of Bede remaining. The hymn on the year deserves our peculiar notice, as it affords an early specimen of the use of rhyme, and gives additional support to that column of evidence by which, in contradiction to the prevailing opinions on the subject, I traced the use of rhyme into the fourth century.

THE first part of the hymn on the year consists of a few hexameters, some of which seem to have been meant to rhyme. These are succeeded by 58 lines, which correctly rhyme in couplets, and which are

¹ *Parvulus interea subiti discrimine morbi
Pleſtitur, atque regit veſtigia languida pino.
Cumque dje quadam ſub divo feſſa locaſſet
Membra dolens ſolus mitis puer, ecce repente
Venit equę nivep venerandus tegmine, nec non
Gratia cornipedi ſimilis, recubumque ſalutat,
Obſequium ſibi ferre rogans. Cui talia reddit,
“ Obſequiis nunc ipſe tuis adſiſtere promptus
“ Vellem, in diro premeretur compede greſſus.
“ Nam tumet ecce genu, nullis quod cura medentum
“ Tempore jam multo valuit mollire lagonis.”
Deſilit hoſpes equo, palpat genu ſedulus ægrum,
Sic fatus: “ Similę nitidam cum lacte farinam
“ Olla coquat pariter ferventiſ in ignę culinę.
“ Hacque iſtum calida ſanandus inunge tumorem.”
Hęc memorans conſcendit equum, quo venerat, illo
Calle domum remeans. Monitus medicina ſecuta eſt,
Agnoviſſetque ſacer medicum veniſſe ſuperni
Judicis a ſplio ſummo, qui munere claſos
Reſtituit viſus piſcis de felle Tobię.*

Smith's Bede, p. 269, 270.

not hexameters. They are not worth a translation, CHAP.
II.
being only curious for their rhimes. I add the first twelve.

ANNUUS solis continetur quatuor temporibus,
Ac deinde adimpletur duodecim mensibus.
Quinquaginta et duabus currit hebdomadibus
Trecentenis sexaginta atque quinque diebus.
Sed excepta quarta parte noctis atque diei
Quæ dierum superesse cernitur serie.
De quadrante post annorum bis binorum terminum,
Calculantes colligendum, decreverunt bissextum.
Hinc annorum diversantur longe latitudines
Quorum quidam embolismi, quidam sunt communes,
Brevis quippe qui vocant communis lunaribus
Solis semper duodenis terminatur mensibus.
Longus autem qui omnino embolismus dicitur
Lunæ tribus atque decem cursibus colligitur
Brevioris anni totus terminatur circulus
Trecentenis quinquaginta ac quatuor diebus,
Longus vero lunæ annus in dierum termino
Continetur trecenteno, octogeno, quaterno⁴.

IN the same poem he frequently makes his hexameters rhyme.

IN another part of the same poem he introduces a series of middle rhimes, as

ADVENTUM domini, non est celebrare Decembri,
Post ternas nonas, neque quintas ante calendas,
Pascha nec undenas, Aprilis ante calendas,
Nec post septenas, Maias valet esse calendas,
Virgo puerperio, dedit anno signa secundo,
Illius magni cycli, modo bis revolvit . . .
Triginta que duos, quingentos qui tenet annos,
Illius angelici, dantes paschalia cycli,
Qui constat denis, annis simul atque novenis⁵.

THE comma marks the position of the middle rhyme: he adds 36 more lines of this sort.

⁴ Bedæ Opera, T. i. p. 476.

⁵ Ib. 485.

BOOK VI. THE final rhimes above cited from this poem may serve as an illustration of what Bede says of Rythmus. He calls it "a modulated arrangement
 " of words not to be examined by metrical rules,
 " but by the number of syllables on the judgment
 " of the ear, *as are the poems of the vulgar poets.*
 " Rhythmus may be without metre, though metre
 " cannot be without rhythmus⁶."

WE have also of Bede's a long poem on the martyr Justin. The beginning may be given to shew its form.

QUANDO Christus Deus noster
 Natus est ex virgine
 Edictum imperiale
 Per mundum insonuit,
 Quatenus totius orbis
 Fieret descriptio.
 Nimirum quia in carne
 Tunc ille apparuit⁷.

⁶ Bede de Arte Metrica, I. p. 57.

⁷ Bede, 3 T. p. 367.

CHAP. III.

The Latin Poetry of BONIFACE, ALCUIN, and others.

BONIFACE, the Anglo-Saxon missionary to CHAP.
III. convert the Germans, who died in 755, attempted poetry. Some of the verses which he subjoined to his epistolary correspondence yet remain to us. In the following the middle lines represent an acrostic of the name of the friend to whom he writes. It is in Latin rhimes. The acrostic begins when he mentions his friend's name.

VALE frater, florentibus
 Juventutis cum viribus :
 Ut floreas cum Domino
 In sempiterno folio
 Qua martyres in cuneo
 Regem canunt æthereo
 Prophetæ apostolicis
 Confonabunt et laudibus
 Nitharde nunc nigerrima
 Imi cosmi contagia
 Temne faulste Tartarea
 Hæc contra hunc supplicia
 Alta que super æthera
 Rimari petens agmina
 Dominum quæ semper choris
 Verum comunt angelicis.
 Qua rex regum pepetuo
 Cives ditat in sæculo
 Iconisma sic cherubin
 Ut et gestes cum seraphin
 Editus apostolorum



Filius prophetarum
Summa fede ut gaudeas
Unaque simul fulgeas
Excelsi regni præmia
Lucidus captes aurea
In que throno æthereo
Christum laudes præconio¹.

ON another occasion he closes a letter to Pope Gregory with six complimentary hexameters². Boniface is once called by a contemporary the client of Aldhelm³.

AMONG the correspondents of Boniface we find some poets. LEOGITHA, an Anglo-Saxon lady, closes a letter to him with these four verses, which are curious for being rhimed hexameters.

TH' Almighty Judge, who in his Father's realms
Created all, and shines with endless light,
May he in glory reign, and thee preserve.
In everlasting safety and delight.

ARBITER omnipotens, solus qui cuncta creavit
In regno patris, semper qui lumine fulget.
Quia jugiter flagrans, sic regnet gloria Christi
Illæsum servet semper te jure perenni⁴.

SHE introduces these verses with a letter, of which a few paragraphs may be selected. "I ask
" your clemency to condescend to recollect the
" friendship which some time ago you had for my
" father. His name was Tinne: he lived in the
" western parts, and died about eight years ago.
" I beg you not to refuse to offer up prayers to
" God for his soul. My mother desires also to be
" remembered to you. Her name is Ebbe. She

¹ Maxima Bib. Patrum, 13. p. 70. They contain nothing worth translating.

² Ib. p. 126.

³ Ib. p. 93.

⁴ Ib. p. 83.

“ is related to you, and lives now very laboriously, C H A P.
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 “ and has been long oppressed with great infirmity.
 “ I am the only daughter of my parents, and I
 “ wish, though I am unworthy, that I may deserve
 “ to have you for my brother ; because in none of
 “ the human race have I so much confidence as in
 “ you. I have endeavoured to compose these
 “ under-written verses according to the discipline
 “ of poetical tradition, not confident with boldness,
 “ but desiring to excite the rudiments of your ele-
 “ gant mind, and wanting your help. I learnt
 “ this art from the tuition of Eadburga, who did
 “ not cease to meditate the sacred law.”

CÆNA, an Anglo-Saxon archbishop, another of
 the correspondents of the German missionary, an-
 nexes to a letter which he wrote to Lullus, six lines,
 which are hexameters, but rhyme in the middle of
 each line.

VIVENDO felix Christi laurate triumphis
 Vita tuis, seculo specimén, charissime cœlo,
 Justitiæ cultor, verus pietatis amator,
 Defendens vigili sanctas tutamine mandras
 Pascua florigeris pandens prædulcia campis
 Judice centenos portans venienti maniplos⁵.

THERE is no more of his poetry extant.

ETHILWALD, the friend and pupil of Aldhelm,
 was also a poet in this period. There is a letter from
 Aldhelm to his beloved son and pupil Æthelwald
 yet extant. There is another from the disciple
 to his master, conceived in terms of great af-
 fection and respect, in which he says that he has sent

⁵ Maxima Bib. Pat. p. 111.

BOOK VI. three poems in two different species of poetry. One in heroic verse, the hexameter, and pentameter in seventy verses. Another not formed on quantity, but consisting of eight syllables in every line, and one and the same letter, adapted to similar cross paths of lines. The third made in similar lines of verses and syllables on the transmarine journey of Boniface⁶.

THERE are no poems immediately subjoined to the letter, but within three pages some poems follow which seem to be some of those described by Ethilwald. We infer this, because the last purports by its contents to be written by Ethilwald⁷, and the one preceding it speaks of Aldhelm⁸, as if it were addressed to him. Both are in the singular sort of verse above described.

THIS singular versification seems to be a peculiar alliteration, which these passages illustrate.

⁶ Max. Bib. Pat. 13. 93.

⁷ Vale, vale, fidissime,
Phile Christi charissime
Quem in cordis cubiculo
Cingo amoris vinculo—
Salutatis supplicibus
Æthelwaldi cum vocibus.

Farewell, farewell, most faithful friend, most dear to Christ; whom in the chamber of my heart I surround with the bond of love—the humble voice of Ethelwald having saluted thee.

Maxima Bib. Pat. p. 98.

⁸ Althelmum nam altissimum
Cano atque clarissimum.

For I sing Aldhelm, the most lofty and most illustrious.

Ib. p. 98:

SUMMUM fatorem solia
 Sedet qui per æthralia—
 Cuncta cernens cacumine
 Cœlorum summo lumine—
 Carvato colli cervicem
 Capitis atque verticem,
 Titubanti tutamina
 Tribuat per solamina
 Sacro sancta sublimiter
 Suffragans manus fortiter.—
 Caput candescens crinibus
 Cingunt capilli nitidis :—
 Neque nocet nitoribus
 Nemerosis cespitibus
 Ruris rigati rivulo
 Roscidi roris sedulo—

THESE poems are more remarkable for these syllabic difficulties of versification than for any other quality, except the absence of the true poetical genius.

ALCUIN was another poet who contributed to adorn the eighth century. Some of his poems have been printed among those of Walafrid Strabo, which his editor Du Chesne has noticed. He has left many poetical compositions, among which his verses to Charlemagne, and his religious and moral poetry form the principal part. He sometimes rhimes, as in this poem, of which the loose measure reminds us of Swift's petition.

QVAM imprimis speciosa quadriga : homo, leo, vitulus et
 aquila.
 Septuaginta unum per capitula colloquuntur de domino
 paria.
 In secunda subsequuntur protinus homo, leo loquitur et
 vitulus
 Quibus inest ordinate positus decimus atque novem nu-
 merus ?

? Alb. Opera. ed. Du Ch. p. 1686.

BOOK SIXTEEN more lines follow, rhiming in the same
VI. manner.

THE following poem we may call a religious sonnet. I quote it, because as all the lines but two rhyme together at different distances, I think it an early specimen of that sort of rhyme which afterwards became improved into the sonnet.

QUI cæli cupit portas intrare patentes,
 Sæpius hunc pedibus intret et ipse suis.
 Hæc est perpetuæ venienti porta salutis,
 Hoc est lucis iter et via jam veniæ.
 Hæc domus alma Dei, hic sunt thesaura tonantis,
 Sanctorum multæ reliquæ que patrum.
 Idcirco ingrediens devota mente viator,
 Sterne solo membra, pectore carpè polum.
 Hic Deus, hic sancti tibi spes, hic terra salutis.
 Sit conjuncta tuo pectore firma fides ¹⁰.

Who seeks to enter heav'n's expanded gates,
 Must oft within these sacred walls attend;
 Here is the gate of ever-during bliss,
 The path of light, of pardon, and of peace,
 The house of God, the treasures of his power,
 And numerous relics of the holiest men.
 With mind devoted, traveller, enter here,
 Here spread your limbs, and fill your heart with heav'n,
 Here sacred hopes, here God himself awaits thee,
 If stedfast faith thy humble mind controul.

IN another poem on a lady building a temple who was one of the correspondents of Boniface, he mentions Ina the Saxon king in this way.

A THIRD ruler received the supreme sceptre
 Whom the nations call IN with uncertain cognomen,
 Who now governs by right the kingdom of the Saxons.

THERE is another which seems to have been meant to rhyme at different distances.

¹⁰ Alb. Opera. ed. Du Ch. p. 1697.

O MORTALIS homo mortis reminiscere casus
 Nil pecude distas si tantum prospera captas.
 Omnia quæ cernis variarum gaudia rerum
 Umbra velut tenuis veloci sine recedunt.
 Præcave non felix ne te dum nescis et audis
 Quassans præcipiti dissolvat turbine finis.
 Porrige poscenti victum, vel contege nudum
 Et te post obitum sic talia facta beabunt."

MORTAL ! the casualties of death remember !
 If wealth alone we seek we are but cattle.
 Know ! all the various joys which charm below,
 Like a light-flying shade will soon depart.
 Beware ! lest in the hour of careless mirth
 The final whirlwind shake thee into ruin.
 Go, feed the hungry and the naked clothe !
 Such deeds will bless thee in the grave we loathe.

SOME of his poetry is very pleasing. The following is his address to his cell when he quitted it for the world :

O MY loved cell, sweet dwelling of my soul,
 Must I for ever say, dear spot, farewell !
 Round thee their shades the sounding branches spread
 A little wood, with flowering honours gay,
 The blooming meadows wave their healthful herbs,
 Which hands experienced cull to serve mankind :
 By thee, mid flowery banks the waters glide
 Where the glad fishermen their nets extend.
 Thy gardens shine with apple-bending boughs
 Where the white lilies mingle with the rose,
 Their morning hymns the feathered tribes resound,
 And warble sweet their great Creator's praise.
 Dear cell ! in thee my tutor's gentle voice
 The lore of sacred wisdom often urg'd.
 In thee at stated times the Thunderer's praise
 My heart and voice with eager tribute paid,
 Lov'd cell ! with tearful songs I shall lament thee :
 With moaning breast I shall regret thy charms.

" Alb. Opera. ed. Du Ch. p. 1721.

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No more thy poet's lay thy shades will cheer,
 No more will Homer or thy Flaccus hail thee,
 No more my boys beneath thy roof will sing,
 But unknown hands thy solitudes possess.
 Thus sudden fades the glory of the age,
 Thus all things vanish in perpetual change.
 Naught rests eternal or immutable.
 The gloomy night obscures the sacred day;
 The chilling winter plucks fair autumn's flowers;
 The mournful storm the placid sea confounds
 Youth chafes wild the palpitating stag,
 While age incumbent totters on its staff.
 Ah! wretched we! who love thee, fickle world!
 Thou flyest our grasp and hurriest us to ruin!"

O mea cella mihi habitatio dulcis amata
 Semper in æternum, O mea cella, vale.
 Undique te cingit ramis resonantibus arbos
 Silvula florigeris semper onusta comis.
 Prata salutiferis floreunt omnia et herbis
 Quas medici quærit dextra salutis ore.
 Flumina te cingunt florentibus undique ripis,
 Retia piscator qua sua tendit ovans.
 Pomiferis redolent ramis tua claustra per hortos,
 Lilia cum rosulis candida mixta rubris.
 Omne genus volucrum matutinas personat odas
 Atque Creatorem laudat in ore deum.
 In te personuit quondam vox alma magistri,
 Quæ sacrosophiæ tradidit ore libros.
 In te temporibus certis laus sancta tonantis
 Pacificos sonuit vocibus atque animis.
 Te mea cella modo lacrymosis plango carmenis,
 Atque gemens casus pectore plango tuos.
 Tu subito quoniam fugisti carmina fatum,
 Atque ignota manus te modo tota tener.
 Te modo nec Flaccus nec fatis Homerus habebit
 Nec pueri Musas per tua testâ canunt.
 Vertitur omne decus sæcli sic namque repente,
 Omnia mutantur ordinibus variis.

ONE of Alcuin's fancies in versification was to close his second line with half of the first :

PRÆSUL amate precor, hæc tu divertit viator
Sis memor Albini ut, præsul amate precor¹³.

THERE are several poems, some short, others longer in this kind of composition.

MANY of Alcuin's poems are worthy of a perusal. Some exhibit the flowers of poetry and some attempt tenderness and sensibility with effect. These are all distinguished by an easy and flowing versification. Several poems are addressed to his pupil Charlemagne, and indeed mention him under the name of David, with a degree of affection which seldom approaches the throne. The adulation of a courtly poet, however, sometimes appears very gross, as in these lines, in which alluding to Charlemagne's love of poetry, he ventures to address him by the venerable name of the Chian bard :

DULCIS Homere vale, valeat tua vita per ævum,
Semper in æternum dulcis Homere vale.

THIS appears in the same poem with two other childish lines :

SEMPER ubique vale, dic, dic, dulcissime David,
David amor Flacci, semper ubique vale¹⁴.

Nil manet æternum, nil immutabile vere est,
Obscurat sacrum nox tenebrosa diem.
Decutit et flores subito hyems frigida pulcros
Perturbat placidum et tristior aura mare.
Quæ campis cervos agitabat sacra juventus
Incumbit fessos nunc baculo senior.
Nos miseri cur te fugitivum mundus amamus?
Tu fugis a nobis semper ubique ruens.

Alb. Opera. ed. Du Ch. p. 1731.

¹³ Ib. p. 1740.

¹⁴ Ib. 1742, 1743.

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ONE of his poems consists of six stanzas, each of six lines. The two first are quoted, because this poem is very like one of the most common modes of versifying in the Anglo-Saxon poetry :

TE homo laudet,
Alme Creator,
Pectore mente,
Pacis amore,
Non modo parva,
Pars quia mundi est.
Sed tibi sancte
Solutus imago,
Magna Creator,
Mentis in arce
Pectore puro
Dum pie vivit¹⁵.

Of the other Latin poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, little need be said. We have a few fragments of some authors, but they deserve a small degree of consideration. Malmesbury has preserved to us part of a poem made on Athelstan, of which the only curiosity is, that it is a mixture of final rhimes and middle rhimes. Where the poet ceases to rhyme at the end of his lines, he proceeds to rhyme in the middle, and where he desists from middle rhimes he inserts his final ones¹⁶.

¹⁵ Alb. Opera. ed. Du Ch. p. 780.

¹⁶ The twelve first lines may be quoted as a specimen.

Regia progenies produxit nobile stemma
Cum tenebris nostris illuxit splendida gemma,
Magnus Æthelstanus patriæ decus, orbita recti,
Illustri probitas de vero nescia flecti.
Ad patris edictum datus in documenta scholarum,
Extimuit rigidos ferula crepitante magistros :
Et potans avidis doctrinæ mella medullis
Decurrit teneros, sed non pueriliter annos

THERE is some poetry on Edgar preserved by C H A P.
 Ethelwerd ¹⁷, and the Vedaftine MS. of the life of III.
 Dunftan contains some rhiming lines ¹⁸.

Mox adoleſcentis veſtitus flore juventæ
 Armorum ſtudio tractabat, patre iubente.
 Sed nec in hoc ſegnem ſenſerunt bellica jura :
 Idquoque poſterius juravit publica cura.

Malmſb. L. 2. p. 49.

¹⁷ Ethelwerd, L. 4. c. 9. ¹⁸ Acta Sanct. May.

C H A P. IV.

The Vernacular Poetry of the Anglo-Saxons.

BOOK
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POETRY has been always classed among the most interesting productions of the human mind ; and few topics of human research are more curious than the history of this elegant art, from its rude beginning to that degree of excellence to which it has long been raised by our ingenious countrymen.

IN no country can the progress of the poetical genius and taste be more satisfactorily traced than in our own. During that period which it is the office of this work to commemorate, it existed in a rude and barbaric state. It could indeed have been scarcely more uncultivated to have been at all discernible. Towards the close of the Anglo-Saxon æra it began to lay aside its homely dress and coarser features, and to be preparing to assume the style, the measures, and the subjects which in a future age were so happily displayed as to deserve the notice of the latest posterity.

AFTER the most laborious efforts of investigation, we must submit to acknowledge that the origin of poetry is a question full of uncertainty. Perhaps it was noticed by accident that words in a certain collocation were more pleasing to the ear than the irregular phrases of common conversation, as sounds in a peculiar arrangement excite feelings which it is delightful to experience. The more we know

of poetry in its rudest state; it seems more probable ^{C. H. A. P.} that it was first distinguished from prose merely by ^{IV.} its versification, and that this separation having once taken place, genius in time appropriated it to nobler topics, more interesting thoughts, and to all those beauties, elegancies, and graces which now are alone allowed to constitute poetry. Religion, love, sensibility, and heroism, soon felt its value, and have each claimed it as their child, because each has used it from the earliest periods to interest mankind.

THE vernacular poetry of the Anglo-Saxons had not soared far above a peculiar versification when it first appears to our notice. But in this early state we find it distinguished from prose by some marking circumstances.

ONE of these was the omission of the little particles of speech, those abbreviations of language and thought which contribute to make our meaning to be more discriminatingly expressed and more clearly apprehended. The prose and poetry of Alfred's translation of Boethius will enable us to illustrate this remark. Where the prose says, 'Thee the on tham ecan setle recast,' the poetry of the same passage has, "Thee on heahsetle ecan recast," omitting the explaining and connecting particles the and tham. So 'Thou that on the seat,' is in the poetry, "Thou on seat." The omission of these particles increases the force and dignity of the phrase, but requires a greater exertion of the mind to comprehend the sense, because as it

* Compare Boethius, p. 4. and 153.

B O O K ancient Cædmon, which Alfred has inserted in his
VI. translation of Bede. Cædmon was a monk who
 accustomed himself to religious poetry. He began
 the art late in life. "He sung the creation of the
 " world and the origin of the human race, and all
 " the history of Genesis; the departure of Israel
 " from Egypt, their entry into the land of promise,
 " and other scriptural subjects. His other topics
 " were the Lord's incarnation, passion, resurrec-
 " tion, and ascension; the coming of the holy spirit,
 " and the teaching of the apostles. He also made
 " many verses on the terrors of the future judg-
 " ment, the horrors of hell, and the delight of the
 " heavenly kingdom." He died in 680, with the
 same piety and resignation with which he had al-
 ways lived.

THE fragment which has descended to us he
 made on waking in a stall of oxen which he was ap-
 pointed to guard during the night²:

Now should we praise
 The Guardian of the heavenly kingdom;
 The mighty Creator,
 And the conceptions of his mind,
 Glorious Father of his works!
 As he of every glory,
 Eternal Lord!
 Established the beginning;
 So he first made
 The earth for the children of men,
 And the heav'ns for its canopy.
 Holy Creator!
 The middle region,
 The Guardian of mankind,

² Bede, 4. 24.

The eternal Lord CHAP.
 Afterwards made IV.
 The earth for men,
 Almighty Ruler³!

IN this composition we have a specimen of one of the chief component parts of the Saxon poetry. I mean the use of the *periphrasis*. In these eighteen lines we have no fewer than seven descriptive phrases applied to the Deity.

ALDHELM cultivated poetry in his native tongue. We are informed that Alfred had inserted it as a remark in his manual, that no one had ever appeared before Aldhelm so competent in English poetry—none had been able to compose so much, or to sing and recite it so appositely. The king mentions a popular ballad of Aldhelm's which was in his time (that is nearly two centuries afterwards) fang in the streets. Malmbury adds, that Aldhelm, anxious to instruct his countrymen, then semibarbarous and inattentive to their religious duties, took his station on the public bridge, as if an harper by profession, and by mixing sacred with lighter topics, won their attention and meliorated their minds⁴. None of his vernacular poetry has survived.

³ Nu we sceolan herigea	Eorþan bearnum
Heofon rice weard	Heofon to rofe
Metodes mihte	Halig feƿƿend
And his mod gethanc	Tha middan gearð
Weorc wuldor fæder	Mon cƿnnes weard
Swa he wuldres gehwæs	Ece drihtne
Ece drihten	Firum foldan
Ord onstealde	Frea ælmihtig.
He æresf gefscop	Ælfred's Bede, 597.

⁴ Malmbr. 3. Gale, 338.

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ALFRED's poetical translations of the poetry in Boethius deserve our most favourable notice. The language is allowed to be elegant and appropriate, and worthy of the royal taste. We will select a few passages.

Oh! in how grim
And how bottomless
A well, laboureth
The darkened mind;
When it the strong
Storms beat
Of the world's business.
Then it contending,
His own light
Again loseth,
And with woe—
Forgets the
Eternal joy.
Distressed with sorrows
Of this world,
The darkness then rushes on^s.

THE following is Alfred's paraphrastic address to the Deity:

Oh thou Creator
Of the pure stars
Of heaven and earth!
Thou on high seat
Ever reignest.
And thou all the swift
Heaven turnest round:
And thro thy
Holy might
The stars compellest
That they obey thee.
* * * * *
Oh! which on earth
Of all creatures

^s Alfred's Boethius, published by Rawlinson, p. 153.

Obeſy thy commandments,
As ſome
Do in heaven,
With mind and power?
But man alone,
He againſt thy will
Workeſt oftneſt.

OH! thou Eternal,
And thou Almighty,
Of all creatures
Maker and Governor!
Pardon thy miſerable
Offspring of earth,
Mankind,
Thro' the power of thy might.

His complaint of the prevalence of evil is thus
urged :

WHY, thou eternal God,
Wouldeſt thou ever
That Fortune
At will
Should turn?
To evil men
Always ſo powerful;
She full oft
Injures the guiltleſs.
Evil men ſit
Over the earth's kingdoms
On high ſeats.
They trample the holy
Under their feet.
To men it is unknown
Why fortune
Should ſo revolve woe.—
Thus are hidden
Here in the world,
Amid many cities,
The bright arts.
In all times the unrighteous
Have in affliction

HISTORY OF THE POETRY, &c.

Those that are
 Wiser in right,
 Worthier of rule,
 False cunning is
 A long while
 Concealed by deceit.
 Now in the world here,
 False oaths
 Hurt not men.
 If thou now governing
 Wilt not steer fortune,
 But at her self-will
 Lettest her go;
 Then I know
 That thee will
 Worldly men doubt,
 Over the earth's regions,
 Except a few only.

He closes the passage with this address:

Oh! my Lord,
 Thou that all overlookest
 Of the world's creatures,
 Look now on mankind
 With mild eyes;
 Now they here, in many
 Of the world's waves,
 Struggle and labour:
 Miserable earth-citizens!
 Pity them now!

THERE is an effort at description not unsuccessful in these lines:

THEN Wisdom again
 Unlocked her word-treasure.
 She sang true saying,
 And thus herself said:
 "When the sun
 Clearest shines

Serenest in heaven,
Speedily will be darkened
All over the earth
The other stars.
For this, their
Brightness cannot be
Set ought
Against the sun's light.
When mild blows
The south and west
Wind, under heaven.
Then quickly increase
The blossoms of the fields,
That they may rejoice.
But the dark storm
When he cometh strong
From north and east,
He taketh away speedily
The blossoms of the rose;
And also the wide sea
The northern tempest
Drives with vehemence,
That it be strong excited,
And lashes the shores.
All that is on earth,
Even the fast-built
Works in the world
Will not remain for ever *.

WE will add two short comparisons of our venerable king :

So oft the mild sea
With south wind
As grey glass clear
Becomes grimly troubled,
Then the great waves mingle
The sea whales rear themselves;

* Alfred's Boethius, p. 156.

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Rough is then that
Which before was glad to look at⁷.

* * * * *

So oft a spring
Bursts from the hoary cliffs
Cold and clear
And diffusely flows on,
It runneth along the earth;
A great mountain stone falleth,
And in the midst of it
Lies trundled
From the mountain.
It then into two streams
Is divided;
The pure lake
Becomes troubled and turbid,
And the brook is changed
From its right course⁸.

In the Saxon Chronicle some poems are inserted. As the longest of these on the battle of Brunanburh, has been given to the public in an estimable work, I will only mention another which occurs under the year 975. It was probably composed at the time.

THEN was also driven
The beloved man
Oslac from the earth,
Over the rolling of the waves,
Over the bath of the sea fowl,
The long-haired hero,
Wife and in words discreet,
Over the roaring of the waters,
Over the country of the whales
Of an home deprived⁹.

⁷ Alfred's Boethius, p. 155.

⁸ Ib. p. 155.

⁹ Sax. Ch. 123.

IN these few lines there are four periphrases C H A P.
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for the sea, and two for Oslac. The other
poetical fragments in the Chronicle deserve less
notice.

CÆDMON'S poetical paraphrase claims strongly our attention. It was published by Junius as the work of the ancient Cædmon, who has been already mentioned. It treats on the first part of the subjects which Bede mentions to have been the topics of the elder Cædmon; but it is presumed by Hickes not to be so ancient as the poet mentioned by Bede. I confess that I am not satisfied that Hickes is right in referring it to any other author; but as the point is, at all events, a matter of doubt, I have chosen to notice it subsequently to the period of the more ancient poet whose name it bears.

It begins with the fall of angels and the creation of the world. It proceeds to the history of Adam and Eve; of Cain, and the deluge; of Abraham and of Moses. The actions of Nabuchodonosor and Daniel are subjoined.

IN its first topic "the fall of the angels," it exhibits much of a Miltonic spirit; and if it were clear that our illustrious bard had been familiar with Saxon, we should be induced to think that he owed something to the paraphrase of Cædmon. No one at least can read Cedmon without feeling the idea intruding upon his mind. As the subject is curious, I shall make no apology for a very co-

B O O K pious extract from Caedmon, translated as literally
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 as possible :

To us it is much right
 That we the Ruler of the firmament,
 The Glory-King of Hosts,
 With words should praise,
 With minds should love.
 He is in power abundant,
 High Head of all creatures,
 Almighty Lord !
 There was not to him ever beginning,
 Nor origin made ;
 Nor now end cometh.
 Eternal Lord !
 But he will be always powerful
 Over heaven's stools,
 In high majesty,
 Truth-fast and very strenuous,
 Ruler of the bosoms of the sky !

THEY were they set
 Wide and ample,
 Thro' God's power,
 For the children of glory,
 For the guardians of spirits.
 They had joy and splendor,
 And their beginning-origin,
 The hosts of angels ;
 Bright bliss was their great fruit.
 The glory-fast thegns
 Praised the King :
 They said willingly praise,
 To their Life-Lord.
 They obeyed his domination with virtues.

THEY were very happy ;
 Sins they knew not ;
 Nor to frame crimes :
 But they in peace lived

With their eternal elder.
Otherwise they began not
To rear in the sky,
Except right and truth.
Before the Ruler of the angels,
For pride divided them in error.

THEY would not prolong
Council for themselves !
But they from self-love
Throw off God's.
They had much pride
That they against the Lord
Would divide,
The glory-fast place,
The majesty of their hosts,
The wide and bright sky.

To him there grief happened,
Envy and pride ;
To that angel's-mind,
That this ill-counsel
Began first to frame,
To weave and wake.

THEN he words said,
Darkened with iniquity,
That he in the north part
A home and high seat
Of heaven's kingdom
Would possess.

THEN was God angry
And with the host wrath,
That he before esteemed
Illustrious and glorious.
He made for those perfidious
An exiled home,
A work of retribution,
Hell's groans and hard hatreds.
Our Lord-commanded the punishment house

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For the exiles to abide
Deep, joyless,
The rulers of spirits.

WHEN he it ready knew
With perpetual night foul,
Sulphur including,
Over it full fire
And extensive cold,
With smoke and red flame,
He commanded them over
The mansion, void of council,
To increase the terror-punishment.

THEY had provoked accusation,
Grim against God gathered together
To them was grim retribution come.
They said, that they the kingdom
With fierce mind would possess,
And so easily might.
Them the hope deceived,
After the governor
The high King of heaven,
His hands upreared.
He pursued against the crowd,
Nor might the void of mind,
Vile against their Maker,
Enjoy might.
Their loftiness of mind departed,
Their pride was diminished.

THEN was he angry ;
He struck his enemies
With victory and power,
With judgment and virtue,
And took away joy :
Peace from his enemies,
And all pleasure :
Illustrious Lord !
And his anger wreaked
On the enemies greatly,

In their own power,
Deprived of strength.

He had a stern mind,
Grimly provoked ;
He seized in his wrath
On the limbs of his enemies,
And them in pieces broke,
Wrathful in mind.
He deprived of their country
His adversaries,
From the stations of glory
He made and cut off
Our Creator !
The proud race of angels from heav'n ;
The faithless host.
The Governor sent
The hated army,
On a long journey,
With mourning speech.
To them was glory lost,
Their threats broken,
Their majesty curtailed,
Stained in splendor,
They in exile afterwards,
Pressed on their black way.
They needed not loud to laugh ;
But they in hell's torments,
Weary remained and knew woe,
Sad and sorry,
They endured sulphur,
Covered with darkness,
A heavy recompense,
Because they had begun
To fight against God.

Cæd. p. 1, 2.

CÆDMON thus describes the creation :

THERE was not yet then here,
Except gloom like a cavern,
Any thing made.

But the wide ground
 Stood deep and dim
 For a new lordship,
 Shapeless and unsuitable.
 On this with his eyes he glanced,
 The King stern in mind,
 And the joyless place beheld.
 He saw the dark clouds
 Perpetually press
 Black under the sky,
 Void and waste;
 Till that this world's creation,
 Thro' the word was done,
 Of the King of Glory.

HIS first made
 The eternal Lord,
 The patron of all creatures,
 Heaven and earth.
 He reared the sky,
 And this roomy land established
 With strong powers,
 Almighty Ruler!

THE earth was then yet
 With grass not green,
 With the ocean covered,
 Perpetually black;
 Far and wide,
 The desert ways.

THEN was the glory-bright
 Spirit of the Warder of heaven,
 Borne over the watery abyss
 With great abundance.
 The Creator of angels commanded,
 The Lord of life,
 Light to come forth,
 Over the roomy ground.

QUICKLY was fulfilled
 The high King's command;
 The sacred light came

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O H A P.
IV.

Over the waste
As the Artist ordered.
Then separated
The Governor of victory
Over the water-flood,
Light from darkness,
Shade from shine ;
He made them both be named,
Lord of life !
Light was first
Thro' the Lord's word,
Called day,
Creation of bright splendor.

PLEASED well the Lord
At the beginning,
The birth of time,
The first day.
He saw the dark shade
Black spread itself
Over the wide ground,
When time declined
Over the oblation-spoke of the earth.
The Creator after separated
From the pure shine,
Our Maker,
The first evening.
To him ran at last
A throng of dark clouds.
To these the King himself
Gave the name of night :
Our Saviour
These separated.
Afterwards as an inheritance
The will of the Lord
Made and did it
Eternal over the earth.

THEN came another day,
Light after darkness,
The Warde of life then commanded
The greater waters

HISTORY OF THE POETRY, &c.

In the middle to be
A high-like heaven timber.
He divided the watery abyfs,
Our Governor,
And made them
A faſtneſs of a firmament.
This the great one raiſed
Up from the earth,
Through his own word,
Almighty Lord !

THE world was divided
Under the high firmament,
With holy might ;
Waters from waters :
From thoſe that yet remain
Under the faſtneſs,
The roof of nations.
Then came over the earth,
Haſty to advance,
The great third morning.

~~THERE~~ ~~were~~ not then yet made
The wide land,
Nor the uſeful ways ;
But the earth flood faſt,
Covered with flood.
The Lord of angels commanded
Thro' his word,
The waters to be together
That now under the firmament
Their courſe hold,
An appointed place.
Then ſtood willingly
The water under heaven,
As the Holy One commanded.

FAR from each other
There was ſeparated
The water from the land.
The Wårder of life then beheld
Dry regions ;

The Keeper of the virtues
Wide displayed them :
Then the King of Glory
Named them earth.

Czd. 3, 4.

G. H. A. R.
IV.

THE MS. here fails us. The rest of the Creation is lost, and the next subject which appears is the formation of Paradise.

WE have another striking specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry in the fragment which remains to us of the History of JUDITH. The author in this displays much of that pomp of phrase which Malmsbury has given to us as the character of the Anglo-Saxon poetry. From Judith we shall make several extracts. The first will be the description of her killing Holofernes ;

SHE took the heathen man
Fast by his hair ;
She drew him by his limbs
Towards her disgracefully ;
And the mischief-ful,
Odious man,
At her pleasure laid ;
So as the wretch,
She might the easiest well command.

SHE with the twisted locks
Struck the hateful enemy,
Meditating hate,
With the red sword,
Till she had half cut off his neck ;
So that he lay in a swoon,
Drunk and mortally wounded.
He was not then dead,
Not entirely lifeless.
She struck then earnest,
The woman illustrious in strength,
Another time,
The heathen hound ;

HISTORY OF THE POETRY, &c.

Till that his head
 Rolled forth upon the floor,
 The foul one lay without a coffer.
 Backward his spirit turned,
 Under the abyss,
 And there was plunged below,
 With sulphur fastened ;
 For ever afterwards wounded by worms,
 Bound in torments,
 Hard imprisoned,
 In hell he burns
 After his course.
 He need not hope,
 With darkness overwhelmed,
 That he may escape
 From that mansion of worms ;
 But there he shall remain
 Ever and ever,
 Without end henceforth,
 In that cavern home,
 Void of the joys of hope.

Jud. p. 23.

THE poet continues to describe Judith's escape
 to the town of her countrymen. Her reception is
 thus mentioned :

THERE were they blithe,
 Those sitting in the burch,
 After they heard.
 How the Holy One spake,
 Over the high wall.
 The army was rejoiced.
 Towards the gates of the fastness
 The people went,
 Men and women together,
 In numbers and heaps,
 In crowds and hosts.
 They thronged and ran
 Against the illustrious maid,
 From a thousand parts,
 Old and young,

HERE repetition of phrase is the substitute for C H A P.
energy of description. IV.

THE poet then gives her speech to the people :

THEN the discreet one ordered,
Adorned with gold,
To her maidens,
With thoughtful mind,
That army-leader's
Head to uncover,
And it on high,
Bloody to shew
To the citizens—
Then spake the noble one
To all the people.
“ Here may we manifestly
Stare on the head
Of the man illustrious for victory,
Of the leader of his people,
Of the odious heathen commander,
Of the not living Holofernes,
He that of all men to us
Most murders has done,
Sore sorrows ;
And more yet
Would have augmented them ;
But that to him God grants not
A longer life ;
That he with injuries
Should afflict us.
I from him life took away,
Through God's assistance.
Now I to every man
Of these citizens
Will pray
Of these shield-warriors,
That ye immediately
Haste you to fight.
When God, the source of all,
The honour-fast King,

B O O K
VI.

From the east sends
 A ray of light,
 Bear forth your banners ;
 With shields for your breasts,
 And mail for your hams,
 Shining helmets,
 Go among the robbers,
 Let their leaders fall,
 The devoted chiefs,
 By the ruddy sword !
 They are your enemies,
 Destined to death,
 And ye shall have their doom,
 Victory from your great leader,
 The mighty Lord !
 As he hath signified to you
 By my hand."

Jud. p. 24.

THE fally which immediately took place and the
 consequent battle, is thus described :

THEN was the host of the swift
 Quickly gathered together,
 The soldiers to the field ;
 The warriors and the nobles
 Illustrious stepped forth,
 They bore the Tusas,
 They went to fight
 Straight onwards :
 Men under helms
 From the holy city,
 At the dawn itself.
 They dinned shields :
 Men roared loudly ;
 At this rejoiced the lank
 Wolf in the wood ;
 And the wan raven ;
 The fowl greedy of slaughter :
 Both from the West,
 That the sons of men for them

Should have thought to prepare
Their fill on corpses.
And to them flew in their paths
The active devourer, the eagle,
Hoary in his feathers.
The willowed kite
With his horned beak,
Sang the song of Hilda.

THE noble warriors proceeded,
They in mail, to the battle,
Furnished with shields,
With swelling banners.
They that awhile before
The reproach of the foreigners,
The taunts of the heathen
Endured.
To them what had been hard
At that play of swords,
Was in all repaid,
On the Assyrians;
When the Hebrews
Under the banners,
Had sallied
On their camps.

THEY then speedily
Let fly forth
Showers of arrows,
The serpents of Hilda,
From their horn bows.
The spears on the ground
Hard stormed.
Loud raged
The plunderers of battle.
They sent their darts
Into the throng of the chiefs.
The angry land-owners
Acted as men
Against the odious race.

Stern-minded they advanced,
 With fierce spirits :
 They pressed on unsoftly,
 With ancient hate,
 Against the mead-weary foe.
 With their hands the chiefs
 Tore from their sheaths
 The sheer, cross sword,
 In its edges tried,
 They slew earnestly ;
 The Assyrian combatants
 Pursuing with hate ;
 None they spared
 Of the army-folk
 Of the great kingdom
 Of the living men,
 Whom they could overcome.

Jud. 24.

FROM these specimens of the Anglo-Saxon vernacular poetry it will be seen that its leading features were metaphor and periphrasis.

THE most interesting remains of the Anglo-Saxon poetry which time has suffered to reach us, are contained in the Anglo-Saxon poem in the Cotton library, Vitellius, A. 15. Wanley mentions it as a poem in which "seem to be described the wars" which one Beowulf, a Dane of the royal race "of the Scyldingi waged against the reguli of "Sweden"" But this account of the contents of the MS. is incorrect. It is a composition more curious and important. It is a narration of the attempt of Beowulf to wreck the *sæththe* or deadly feud on Hrothgar, for a homicide which he had committed. It may be called an Anglo-Saxon epic poem. It abounds with speeches which Beowulf and Hrothgar and their partisans make to each

! Wanley Catal. Saxon MS. p. 218.

other, with much occasional description and sentiment. CHAP.
IV.

It begins with a proemium, which introduces its hero Beowulf to our notice :

BEOWULF was illustrious ;
The fruit wide sprang
Of the progeny of the Scyldæ ;
The shade of the lands
In Swafcedi.

HIM in his time again,
As they were accustomed,
His voluntary companions,
His people followed
When he knew of battle.
With deeds of praise,
Every where among the nations
Shall the hero flourish.

THE poet then states the embarkation of Beowulf and his partizans :

WITH them the Scyld
Departed to the ship.
While many were prone
To go with their Lord.
They carried him out
To the ocean-journey,
As his companions :
So he himself commanded
When with words he governed
His loved Scyldings.
The chieftainship of the dear land
Long he possessed.
There at the port station
His icy voice sounded,
And all was ready
For the Etheling's expedition.

THE lords of the bracelet
Led their beloved ruler
To the bosom of the ship :

Great among the greatest.—

Never did I hear

Of a more king-like ship

Prepare for battle,

With weapons and noble garments,

With bills and breast mails.

AFTER expressing that they stored it with provisions, he adds :

THEN yet they placed in it

The golden banner,

High over their heads ;

They let the waters bear it

A present to the ocean.

A forrowing spirit,

A mourning mind,

The men knew not.

They said indeed

That a mansion under the heavens

Should be adjudged to the man

Who from them could take its treasures.

HERE the introduction ends.

THE first section opens thus :

THERE was in the cities

Beowulf Scyldinga,

A king dear to the people,

A long time of the nation

The illustrious father.

The prince departed from the earth,

When to him arose

Healfdene the high hold.

While he lived old

And Guthreow,

The glad Scyldingas,

To them four children number'd.

In the world were born

The leaders of hosts,

Heorogar and Hrothgar

And Halgatil.

Then I heard that the queen,
The wife of his neck
Hid the noble Scyldingas.

C B A P.
VI.

HROTHGAR appears to have obtained the chief-
tainship :

THEN was to Hrothgar
The military wealth given,
The dignity of the army.
Him his male relations
Diligently obeyed :
While the youth grew up,
Great Lord of his relations.
To him in his mind it came
That he to the palace-hall
Would invite ;
The mead-house
For much men prepare—
And there within it
He gave every thing
To the young and to the old,
As to him God had given ;
Except his territory
And the lives of his men.

THE poet here introduces himself by asserting
his knowledge of the things he is narrating :

THEN I wide heard
The work proclaimed,
For many nations
Over this world,
The residence of men—
When it was all ready,
The great hall-chamber,
The poet named it Heort.
He that of his words
Had extensive power.
He gave the promis'd bracelets,
He divided treasure at the feast :
High the mansion shone :

BOOK
IV.

And the horn of the crafty chief,
The pledge of heat,
Of destructive fire.

At the festivity there was a Scop, a poet, whose song is stated :

There every day
He heard joy
Loud in the hall.
There was the harp's
Clear sound—
The song of the poet said,
He who knew
The beginning of mankind
From afar to narrate.

“ He took wilfully
“ By the nearest side
“ The sleeping warrior.
“ He slew the unheeding one
“ With a club on the bones of his hair.”

THE transition to this song is rather violent, and its subject is abruptly introduced, and unfortunately the injury done to the top and corners of the MS. by fire interrupts in many places the connections of the sense.

AFTER stating the crime of Hrothgar which produced the fœhthe, the poem narrates the preparations of Beowulf and his sailing :

The war king said,
That over the swan's road
He would seek the great chief.
That he had need of men
For that expedition.
Prudent Ceorles
Awhile should attend it.
Those that to him were dear—
The good Jute
Had to sail

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C. H. A. R.
VI.


Chosen foldiers
Of those that the bravest
He might find.
Some fifteen
Sought the wood of the ocean;
The warrior taught
To the sea-crafty men
The land marks.
Soon the fleet departed.
Then was on the waves
The ship under the mountains.
The warriors ready at his voice
Descended the streams.—

He then departed
Over the sea-way,
Hastened by the winds.
Their streamer floated
Like the neck of a bird,
Till they had gone
The space of another day.—

Then the sailors
Beheld the land,
The sea-cliffs,
The steep shining mountains,
The ample sea promontory.—

Thence up quickly
The weather-beaten men
Ascended into the plain
From the sea-wood feat.
They shook their garment
The cloathing of battle.
They thanked God for this
That to them the wave journey
Had smoothly happened.

THE author then describes their being discovered
by their enemy :

BOOK
IV.

THEN from the wall
 He that the sea-cliff should guard
 Beheld the warder of Scylding;
 Bear over the hills
 The bright shields,
 The instruments of battle.
 Instantly he broke the fire vessel
 In the doubts of his mind
 What these men were.
 The Thegn of Hrothgar with his host
 Went straight then
 To ride to the shore of the conflict.
 The powerful wood
 He shook in his hands,
 He asked counsel by his words.

"WHAT are the designs
 Of this mail-clad host
 That thus have brought this warlike ship
 Over the streets of the sea?
 Come they hither over the ocean,
 Injuring every where the settled people?
 The land of the Danes
 Holds nothing more odious
 Than ship-plunderers.—
 How I will your origin know
 Before that far hence,
 Like false spies
 On this celebrated land,
 You shall further go now,
 Band of sea-dwellers.
 Hear my simple thought;
 It will be best to tell with speed
 Why you have come here."

To this manly request Beowulf delivers his answer :

HIM answered
 The eldest of the host.

He unlocked his treasure
Of wife words.
"We are of the race
Of the Jute people,
And Higelac's Hæarth-Geneat
Was my father,
To the world known :
Of noble origin,
Ecgtheow called.
He remained a number of winters
Before he departed away,
Old with years.
Him promptly well knew
Each of the Witan, wide over the earth.
We from faithful mind
Thy lord, the son of Healfden,
Come to seek—
We have to him
A much greater errand
To the lord of the Danes,
Nor shall this
To any be hidden.
This, I think,
That thou knowest if it be,
As we have heard say,
That with the Scyldingi
Some devil deeds of hate
In the dark night appeared.—
I to this Hrothgar will
By my extended thought,
Teach counsel how the wise God
Conquers his enemies."—

THE warden answered him ; Beowulf anchored
his ships, and advanced ; and a messenger went to
carry the tidings to Hrothgar.

STRONG was the way ;
The enemy knew the path ;
With their men together.
The mail of battle shone hard

Closed by hands.
The sheer iron
Rung upon the warlike instruments
Then they to the mansion-house,
In all their terrors,
Were delighted to go.

ON his advancing again one of Hrothgar's party
addressed them :

" WHERE do you carry
Your thick shields,
Your grey vests,
And grim helms,
And a heap of the shafts of war ?
I am Hrothgar's
Messenger and attendant.
Never have I seen
So many strangers
More animated.
I think your splendid host,
For the paths of revenge,
For the glory of mind,
Must seek Hrothgar."

HIM then answered
The illustrious in valour
Of the wealthy weather people,
The ruler under his helmet,
With a word after the speech.

" WE are Higelac's table guests.
Beowulf is my name.
I will speak to the son of Healfdan,
To the great chief, thy ruler,
My errand,
If he will permit us."—

WULFGAR then addressed them.
He was of the Wendil people.
His mind-thoughts were told to many
With wit and wisdom.

" I this man of Denmark,
The ruler of the Scyldingi,
The lord of Bracelets,
Will ask ;
Art thou a petitioner to the great chief
About thy way ?

THUS then answered
The other to say ;
" Be that to me
As God thinketh to give."

HE turned then speedily
To where Hrothgar sat,
Old but not hoary,
With his earls.—

WULFGAR addressed
His beloved lord :
" Here are men,
Come from afar
Over the sea,
Inhabitants of the Jute region.
The chief of the family
They call Beowulf,
They are petitioners
That they, my king,
With thee may exchange words.
Now, do thou beware of him.

THE above quotations are taken from the five first sections. The sixth section exhibits Hrothgar's conversation with his nobles, and Beowulf's introduction and address to him. The seventh section opens with Hrothgar's answer to him, who endeavours to explain the circumstance of the provocation. In the eighth section a new speaker appears, who is introduced, as almost all the personages in the poem are mentioned, with some account of his parentage and character.

BOOK
VI.

HUNFERTHE spoke
 The son of Ecglase;
 Who had sat at the foot
 Of the lord of the Scyldingi
 Among the band of the battle mystery.
 To go in the path of Beowulf
 Was to him a great pride;
 He was zealous
 That to him it should be granted
 That no other man
 Was esteemed greater in the world
 Under the heavens than himself,

“ART thou Beowulf
 He that with such profit
 Dwells in the expansive sea,
 Amid the contests of the ocean?
 There yet for riches go!
 You try for deceitful glory
 In deep waters.—
 Nor can any man,
 Whether dear or odious,
 Restrain you from the sorrowful path—
 There yet with eye-streams
 To the miserable you flourish:
 You meet in the sea-street;
 You oppress with your hands;
 You glide over the ocean's waves;
 The fury of winter rages,
 Yet on the watery domain
 Seven nights have ye toiled.”

It would occupy too much room in the present volume to give a further account of this interesting poem, which well deserves to be submitted to the public, with a translation and with ample notes. There are forty-two sections of it in the Cotton MS., and it ends there imperfectly. It is perhaps the oldest poem of an epic form in the vernacular language of Europe which now exists.

CHAP. V.

On the Anglo-Saxon Versification.

THE best Saxon scholars have confessed that the versification of the vernacular poetry of our ancestors was modelled by rules which we have not explored. Our ignorance of the principles of their verse still continues, and therefore all that can be done on this topic is to give some specimens of the different forms which have survived to us.

IN Alfred's Boethius, part of the specimens that we have translated in the last chapter stands thus ;

EALA thu scippend
 Scirra tungla
 Hefones and eorþan
 Thu on heah setle
 Ecum ricfast
 And thu ealne hræthe
 Hefon ymbhwearfest
 And thurh thine
 Halige miht
 Tunglu genedeft
 Thæt he the to herath
 Swylce seo sunne
 Sweatra nihta
 Thioftro adwæsceth
 Thurh thine meht
 Blacun leoht
 Beorhte steorran
 Mona gemetgath
 Thurh thinra meahtha sped
 Hwilum eac tha funnan
 Sines bereafath
 Beorhtan leohtes,

BOOK
VI.

THE quotation from Alfred ends,

EALA min dryhten
 Thu the ealle oferfihð
 Worulde gefceasta
 Wlit nu on anþreȝa
 Mildum eagum
 Nu hi on monegum ber
 Worulde ythum
 Wynnath and fwincath
 Ara him nu tha. ——— Boeth, 154.

THE Saxon of another of the quotations from
 Boethius is,

Swa oft fæylt fæ
 Sutherne wind
 Græge glas hluthre
 Grimme gedrefoth
 Thonne hie gemengath
 Micla yfta
 Onhrerath hron mere
 Hrioth bith thonne
 Seo the ær gladu
 On fiene was
 Swa oft æspringe uta wealleth
 Of clife harum
 Col and hluttur
 And gereclice rihte floweth
 Irneth with his earde
 Oth him on innan
 Felth muntas mægen stan
 And him on middan
 Gelegith atrendlod. ——— Brett. 155.

THE little poem which was cited from the Saxon
 Chronicle is the following :

THA wearth eac adræfed
 Deormod hæleth
 Oslac of earde
 Ofer ytha gewealc

Ofer ganothes bæth
Gamol feax hæleth
Wis and word snottor
Ofer wætera gethring
Ofer hwæles æthel
Hama bereafod.

C H A P.
V.

THE next lines may be cited because of their rhiming tendency :

THA wearth ætywed
Upe on roderum
Steorra ou stathole
Thohæ stith færhthe
Hæleth hige gleawe
Hatath wide
Cometa be naman
Cræft gleawe men
Wife sothboran¹.

THE verification of Cæman's paraphrase is of a similar species. It begins

Us is riht micel
Thæt we rodera weard
Wereda wuldor cyning
Wordum herigen
Modum lufien.
He is mæгна sped
Heafod calra
Heah gesceafta
Frea Ælmightig.—Cod. p. 1.

¹ Sax. Chr. 123.

Then was displayed	Extensively call
Up in the skies	A comet by name.
A star in the firmament.	Men acute in art,
This the strong minded	Wise, truth-announcing.
The men of acute intellect	

THE account of the creation begins thus :

Næ was her tha giet
 Nymthe heolfter sceado
 Wiht geworden
 Ac thes wida grund
 Stod deop and dim
 Drihtne fremde
 Idel and unnyt
 On thone eagum wlat
 Stith frith cining
 And tha stowe beheold
 Dreamaleafe
 Gefeah deorc geweorc
 Semian sinnihte
 Sweart under roderum
 Wonne and wesse
 Oth tha theos woruld gesceaft
 Thurh word gewearth
 Wuldor cynninges
 Her ærest gesceop
 Ece drihten
 Helm eall wihta
 Heofon and eorþan
 Rodor arærde
 And this rume land
 Gestathelode
 Strangum mihtum
 Frea Ælmihtig.
 Folde was tha gyta
 Græs ungrene
 Garfecg theahte
 Sweart synnihte
 Side and wide
 Wonne wegæs.

IN Judith the versification is of this species,
 which is taken from the description of the battle ;

Tha wearth snellra werod
 Snude gegearewod

Cenra to campe
 Stopon cyneroſe
 Secgas and geſithas
 Bæron thufas
 Foron to gefeohte
 Ferth on gerihte
 Hæleth under helmum
 Of thære haligan byrig
 On that dægred
 Sylf dynedan ſcildas
 Hlude hluin non
 Thæs fe hlanca gefeah
 Wulf in walde
 And fe wanna hrefn
 Wæl gifre fugel
 Weſtan begen
 Tha him tha theod guman
 Thohton tilian
 Fylle on fægum
 Ac him fleah on laſt
 Earn ætes georn
 Urig fethera
 Salowig pada
 Sang hilde leoth
 Hyrned nebba.—Jud. p. 24.

RHIME ſeems to have been occasionally in the
 contemplation of the author of this poem. The
 firſt eight lines of the above quotation rhyme, and
 towards the end of the deſcription there occur to-
 gether,

YRRE landbuende
 Lathum cynne
 Stopon ſtyrnmode
 Sterced ferhthe
 Wrehton unſofte ;

and many rhiming lines may be traced in the
 poem. But it is clear that the rhyme uſed was but

BOOK an occasional addition, and quite distinct from the
 VI. general metre or rhythm of the poem.

THE following extracts will shew the style of the poem on Beowulf:

THA WAS on burgum
 Beowulf Scyldinga
 Leof leod cyning
 Longe thrage folcum
 Gefræt gefæder
 Ellor hwearf
 Aldor of earde
 Oth tha him eft on woc
 Heah healfdene hold.
 Thenden lifde gamol
 And Guthreow
 Glæde scyldingas
 Thæm feower beara
 Forth gerimed
 In woruld wocun
 Weoroda ræfwa
 Heorogar and Hrothgar
 And Halgatil.—

IN the description of Beowulf's preparations to sailing and landing is thus:

CWÆTH he Guthcýning
 Ofter swan rade
 Secean wolde
 Mærne theoden
 Tha him was manna thearf
 Thone sithfæt him
 Snotere ceorlas
 Lyt hwon logon
 Thæm the him leof wære.—

SECG wifade
 Lagu cræftig mon
 Land gemyrcu
 Fyrst forth gewat flota

Wæs on ythum
Bat under beorge
Beornas gearwe
On stefn sligon streamas.—

GEWAT tha ofer wæg holm
Winde gefýfed
Flota fann heals
Fugle gelicost
Oth tha ymb an tid
Oþres dogores
Wunden stefna
Gewada hæfde.
Tha tha lithende
Land gefawon
Brim elifu bŕcan
Beorgas steape
Side sæ næfŕas.—

THANON up hrathe
Wedera leode
On wang sligon
Sæ wudu sældon
Syrcon hryfedon
Guth gewædo
Gode thareedon
Thæs the him ythlade
Eathe wurdon.

THA of wealle gefeah
Weard ŕcyldinga
Se the holm clifre
Healdan ŕcolde
Beran ofer bolcan
Beorhte randas
Fyrd fearu
Fulŕcu hine fyr pyt bræc
Mod gehyddum
Hwæt tha men wæron.

BROWULF's answer to the thegn's inquiries about
him begins thus :

HIM se yldesta answarode
 Weordes wifa
 Worde hord onleac
 Wey sƿnt gum cynnes
 Geata leode
 And Higelaces hearth geneatas
 Wæs min fæder
 Fo'cum gecythed
 Æthele ordfruma
 Egtheow haten
 Gebad wintra worn
 Or he on wæg hwurfe
 Gamol of geardum.

THE Anglo-Saxon versification possesses occasional rhyme and occasional alliteration, and sometimes the alliteration peculiar to the Welsh poetry. But none of these form its constituent character. Mr. Tyrhwhit and Mr. Ellis are also right in asserting that it does not depend upon "a fixed and determinate number of syllables, nor on that marked attention to their quantity which Hickes supposed to have constituted the distinction between verse and prose³."

It appears to me that the only rule of the Saxon versification which we can now discover is that the words are placed in that peculiar rhythm or cadence which is observable in all the preceding extracts. This rhythm will be felt by every one who reads the following lines:

THOHTON tilian
 Fylle on fægum—
 Urig fæthera
 Salowig pada —
 Wordum herigen

³ Ellis' Specimens of the early English Poets, Pref.

Modum lufen —
Heafod ealra
Heah gefceasta
Frea Ælmihtig. —

CHAP.
V.

To produce this rhythm seems to have been the perfection of their versification. But happily for the strength of their poetry they extended their rhythm sometimes into a more dignified cadence, as

WEREDA wuldor cyning —
Ymthe heolfter sceado —
Thurh thinra meahta sped. —

WHEN their words would not fall easily into the desired rhythm, they were satisfied with an approach to it, and with this mixture of regular and irregular cadence all their poetry seems to have been composed.

By this rhythm, by their inversions of phrase, by their transitions, by their omissions of particles, by their contractions of phrase, and, above all, by their metaphors and perpetual periphrasis, their poetry seems to have been principally distinguished.

CHAP. VI.

*Of the Literature of the Anglo-Saxons.*BOOK
VI.

THE literature of the Anglo-Saxons must be dated from their conversion to Christianity. They may have had their runic letters and their songs before this æra; but their knowledge of books and of the learning which had been accumulated in happier regions of the world, was derived from their religious intercourse with Rome. Their literary progress first began by the introduction into England of the Latin and Greek languages, and by the collection of their books. Some men arose who took pleasure in encouraging others to the study of literature. Many exerted themselves to attain it, and some to communicate their improvements to their countrymen. We will give concise biographical sketches of the principal persons who advanced literature in these respects, as the best mode of elucidating the history of its progress.

WHEN St. Augustin came into England the Pope sent to him many books¹, some of which are now extant in our public libraries.

A DESIRE for knowledge began in the seventh century to spread among the Anglo-Saxons. Sigebert, who died in the middle of this age, had fled into France from his brother Redwald, and was

¹ Bede, l. 29.

there baptized. When he attained the crown of East Anglia he established a school in his dominions for the instruction of youth, in imitation of those which he had seen in France. He was assisted in this happy effort of civilization by Bishop Felix, who came to him out of Kent, and who supplied him with teachers from that part of the oestarchy, which Christianity and literature had first enlightened ².

AT this period Ireland was distinguished for its religious literature, and many of the Anglo-Saxons, both of the higher and lower ranks, retired into it to pursue their studies or their devotions. While some assumed the monastic life, others, seeking variety of knowledge, went from one master's cell to another. The hospitable Irish received them all, supplied them with daily food, with books, and gratuitous instruction ³.

MANY persons in England are mentioned at this time by Bede as reading and studying the Holy Scriptures. To a nation whose minds were so untutored in knowledge as the Anglo-Saxons, the Jewish and Christian Scriptures must have been invaluable accessions. From these they would learn the most rational chronology of the earth, the most correct history of the early states of the East, the most intelligent piety, the wisest morality, and every style of literary composition. Perhaps no other collection of human writings can be selected which would so much interest and benefit a rude and ignorant people. We shall feel all their value

² Bede, 3. 18.

³ Ib. 3. c. 28.

B **O** **O** **K** and importance to our ancestors if we compare them
 VI. with the Edda, in which the happiest efforts of the
 Northern Genius are deposited.

It has been mentioned that Alfred lamented very impressively the happy times which England had known before his reign, and the wisdom, knowledge, and books, which then abounded.

THE period of intellectual cultivation to which he alluded began to dawn when Christianity was first planted; but was advanced to its meridian lustre towards the end of the 7th century, by two ecclesiastics, whom the Pope sent into England.

ABOUT the year 668, the English archbishop, who went to Rome for the papal sanction, happening to die there, the pope resolved to supply his dignity by a person of his own choice. He selected for this purpose Adrian, an abbot of a monastery near Naples, and an African. The unambitious Adrian declined the honour, and recommended Theodore, a monk at Rome, but a native of Tarsus, the Grecian city illustrious by the birth of St. Paul. The pope approved his choice, and at the age of 66 Theodore was ordained Archbishop of Canterbury. His friend Adrian accompanied him to England*.

NOTHING could be more fortunate for the Anglo-Saxon literature than the settlement of these men in England. Both were well versed in sacred and profane literature, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek and Latin languages. Their conversation and exhortations excited among the Anglo-Saxons a great emulation for literary studies. A

* Bede, 4. c. 1.

crowd of pupils soon gathered round them, and, besides the Scriptures and divinity, they taught the Greek and Latin languages, astronomy, arithmetic, and the art of Latin poetry. CHAP.
VI.

THEODORE held his archiepiscopal station twenty-one years. He appointed Adrian to the monastery of St. Peter at Canterbury, who lived here thirty-nine years; and their presence made Kent the fountain of knowledge to all the rest of England. Bede extols the happy times which the island enjoyed under their tuition, and mentions that some of their scholars were alive in his time as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own⁵.

Among the men to whom Anglo-Saxon literature was greatly indebted, Benedict, who founded the abbey at Weremouth, must be mentioned with applause. He went several times from England to Rome, and brought back with him an innumerable quantity of books of every description given to him by his friends or purchased at no small expence. One of his last instructions was to keep with care the library that he had collected, and not to let it be spoilt or scattered by negligence⁶. The importance of his attention to the arts is also noticed.

EGBERT, who was archbishop of York in 712, had celebrity in his day. He was descended from the royal family of Northumbria, and is highly extolled by Malmfbury as an armoury of all the liberal arts. He founded a very noble library at

⁵ Bede, 4. c. 2.

⁶ Bede, Hist. Abb, 293—295.

BOOK VI. York. Alcuin speaks with gratitude of this circumstance. "Give me (says he in a letter to Charlemagne) those exquisite books of erudition which I had in my own country by the good and devout industry of my master Egbert, the archbishop." To this Egbert, our Bede addresses a long letter, which remains¹. We have one treatise of Egbert remaining. It is a series of answers to some ecclesiastical questions.

WILFRID was another benefactor to Anglo-Saxon literature, by favouring the collection of books. He also ordered the four Evangelists to be written, of purest gold, on purple-coloured parchments, for the benefit of his soul, and he had a case made for them of gold, adorned with precious stones².

We have a catalogue of the books in the library at York, collected chiefly by Egbert. They consisted of the following

Ancient fathers :

Jerom,	Fulgentius,
Hilarius,	Basil,
Ambrosius,	Chrysostom,
Austin,	Lactantius,
Athanasius,	Eutychius,
Gregory,	Clemens,
Leo,	Paulinus.

Ancient Classics :

Aristotle,	Lucan,
Pliny,	Boetius,
Cicero,	Cassiodorus,

¹ Bede, 305.

² Eddius Vita Wilf.

Arator,
Virgil,
Statius,

Orosius,
Pompeius.

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VI.

Ancient grammarians and scholiasts :

Probus,	Servius,
Donatus,	Pompeius,
Priscian,	Comminianus.

Other poets :

Victorinus,	Fortunatus *,
Sedulius,	Prosper.
Juvencus,	

THIS was the library which Alcuin calls the Treasures of Wisdom, which his beloved master Egbert left, and of which he says to Charlemagne, " If it shall please your wisdom, I will send some of our boys, who may copy from thence whatever is necessary, and carry back into France the flowers of Britain ; that the garden may not be shut up in York, but the fruits of it may be placed in the Paradise of Tours ¹⁰."

THE studies which were pursued at York may be also stated, as those which they who cultivated literature generally attended to.

THEY were,

Grammar,	Astronomy, and
Rhetoric,	Natural Philosophy ;
Poetry,	

which are thus described.

" THE harmony of the sky, the labour of the sun and moon, the five zones, the seven wander-

* 3 Gale, p. 730.

¹⁰ Malmfb. 1.

BOOK
VI.

"ing planets. The laws, risings, and setting of
"the stars; and the aerial motions of the sea, earth-
"quakes; the natures of man, cattle, birds, and
"wild beasts; their various species and figures.
"The sacred Scriptures".

THESE were the subjects of the scholastic education at York in the 8th century.

BUT though literature in the 7th and 8th centuries was striking its roots into every part of England, yet it was in the monasteries almost exclusively that it met with any fit soil, or displayed any vegetation. The ignorance of the secular part of society was general and gross. Even our kings were unable to write. Wihtred, king of Kent, about the year 700, says at the end of a charter, "I have put the sign of the holy cross pro ignorantia letterarum"¹², on account of my ignorance of writing." Among the kings of the 7th and 8th century, however, some exceptions appear, and none of these were more distinguished than Alfrid, of Northumbria, whose voluntary exile in Ireland for the sake of study, and whose literary attainment and celebrity we have already recorded¹³. The improvements, however, of those who sought ecclesiastical duties must have operated with considerable effect on all who were within the circle of their influence. They mingled with every order of society; they were every where respected and often emulated.

¹² 3 Gale, 728.

¹³ Aſſle's Charters, No. 1.

¹⁴ 1 Anglo-Sax. p. 304.

THE three great luminaries of the Anglo-Saxons CHAP.
VI.
whose attainments contributed so much to increase intellectual cultivation among their countrymen in the century preceding Alfred the Great, were Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin.

ALDHELM.

ALDHELMUS, as he calls himself in his Latin poems, or, as Alfred spells it, Ealdhelm¹⁴, Old Helmet, was of princely extraction. A kinsman of Ina was his father. He received his first tuition from the celebrated Adrian, whom we have already commemorated, and he continued his studies at Malmesbury, where Maildulf, an Irishman, had founded a monastery. He became thoroughly versed in Greek and Latin under this tutor, who, charmed by the sylvan beauties of the place, led an hermit's life there, and supported himself by teaching scholars. He returned to Kent, and resumed his studies under Adrian till his feverish state of health compelled him to relinquish them. He mentions some of these circumstances in a kind letter to his old preceptor¹⁵.

"I CONFESS, my dearest, whom I embrace with the
"tenderness of pure affection, that when, about three
"years ago, I left your social intercourse and with-
"drew from Kent, my littleness still was inflamed with
"an ardent desire for your society. I should have
"thought of it again, as it is my wish to be with you,
"if the course of things and the change of time
"would suffer me, and if divers obstacles had not

¹⁴ Alfred's Bede, 5. c. 18.

¹⁵ Malm. de Pont. 3 Gale, 338. Bede, 5. c. 18.

BOOK VI. "prevented me. The same weakness of my corporeal infirmity boiling within my emaciating limbs, which formerly compelled me to return home, when, after the first elements, I had re-joined you again, still delays me."

IN another letter he expresses his love of study, and mentions the objects to which his attention was directed. These were the Roman jurisprudence, the metres of Latin poetry, arithmetic, astronomy, and its superstitious child astrology¹⁶.

He became abbot of Malmſbury, and his government was distinguished by the numerous and splendid donations of land with which the great men of his time endowed his monastery. In 705 he was made bishop of Sherborn, and in 709 he died. Before we consider his literary character we will glance a while on some traditional tales which his ancient biographer has thought proper to attach to him.

To subdue his rebellious body he immersed himself up to the shoulders, both in winter and summer, during the night in a spring near the monastery, till the last hymn was chanted. In a moment of temptation he held a woman in his arms without offering any improprieties till he had conquered his vicious feelings. Malmſbury mentions that he had no written evidence for these circumstances; but alludes to a silver shrine, on which they were represented¹⁷.

¹⁶ 3 Gale, 338. Henry has given almost the whole of it in his History, vol. iv. p. 14.

¹⁷ 3 Gale, 347.

IT may amuse the reader to know what miracles C H A P.
VI. were ascribed to him. A beam of wood was once lengthened by his prayers; the ruins of the church he built, though open to the skies, were never wet with rain during the worst weather; one of his garments, when at Rome, once raised itself high in the air, and kept there a while self-suspended; a child, nine days old, at his command once spake to clear the calumniated pope from the imputation of being its father¹⁸. Such were the effusions of monastic fancy which our ancestors were once enamoured to read and eager to believe.

WE will now pass on to his literary character.

HE, while abbot, addressed a letter to Geraint king of Cornwall, whom he styles "the most glorious lord governing the sceptre of the western kingdom," on the subject of the proper day of celebrating Easter, which yet exists¹⁹; but which has nothing in it to deserve further notice. He addressed a learned book to Alfrid, the intelligent king of Northumbria, on the dignity of the number 7, on paternal charity, on the nature of insensible things which are used in metaphors, on the rules of profody, on the metres of poetry²⁰.

ALDHELM was highly estimated by Malmesbury in the twelfth century, who places him above both Bede and Alcuin. Bede, his contemporary, described him as a man in every respect most learned; neat in his style, and wonderfully skilled in secular and ecclesiastical literature. Alfred translates Bede's

¹⁸ 3 Gale, 351.

¹⁹ 16 Mag. Bib. Pat. p. 65.

²⁰ 3 Gale, 339.

BOOK ^{VI.} nitidus in sermone into on wordum hluttur and
 { scinende, clear and shining in his words ²¹. Malm-
 bury closes his panegyric on his style with assert-
 ing that from its acumen you would think it to
 be Greek; from its splendor, Roman; and from
 its pomp, English ²². After these lavish commen-
 dations, it will be necessary to consider of their ap-
 plicability.

His letter to Eahfrid contains a most elaborate specimen of Latin alliteration. Fifteen words be-
 gin with the same letter in the first paragraph.

“PRIMITUS (pantorum procerum pretorumque
 pio potissimum paternoque præsertim privilegio)
 panegyricum poemata que passim profatori sub polo
 promulgantes stridula vocum symphonia ac melodiæ
 cantilenæque carmine modulaturi hymnizenus.”

In the same letter we have afterwards “tor-
 rendæ tetræ tortionis in tartara trahit.” The whole
 epistle exhibits a series of bombastic amplifica-
 tion ²³.

His treatise in praise of virginity is his principal
 prose work, and is praised by Malmbury for its
 rhetorico lepore. It is unfortunate for human ge-
 nius that the taste and judgment of mankind vary
 in every age, and that so defective are our crite-
 rions of literary merit, that even in the same age
 there are nearly as many critical opinions as there
 are individuals who assume a right to judge. Some
 things, however, please more permanently and

²¹ Alfred's Bede, 5. 18.

²² 3 Gale, 339.

²³ Usher Syll. Heb. Ep. p. 37.

more universally than others; and some kinds of **CHAP.**
merit, like that of Aldhelm, are only adapted to **VI.**
flourish at a particular period.

THIS singular treatise contains a profusion of epithets, paraphrases, and repetitions, conveyed in long and intricate periods. He clouds his meaning by his gorgeous rhetoric. Never content with illustrating his sentiment by an adapted simile, he is perpetually abandoning his subject to pursue his imagery. He illustrates his illustrations till he has forgotten both their meaning and applicability. Hence his style is an endless tissue of figures, which he never leaves till he has converted every metaphor into a simile, and every simile into a wearisome episode. In an age of general ignorance, in which the art of criticism was unknown, his diction pleased and informed by its magnificent exuberance. His imagery was valued for its minuteness, because, although usually unnecessary to its subject and to us disgusting, as a mere mob of rhetorical figures, yet, as these long details contained considerable information to an uncultivated mind, and sometimes presented pictures which, if considered by themselves, are not uninteresting, it was read with curiosity and praised with enthusiasm.

It is, however, just to his memory to say, that he was a man of genius, though of wild and uncultivated taste. His mind was as exuberant of imagery as Jeremy Taylor's. Many of his allusions, though fanciful, are apposite, and some are elegant and vigorous, both in the conception and the expression; but he injures all his beauties by

BOOK VI. their redundancy, their confusion, and their unnecessary obtrusion.

BEDE.

THE celebrated Bede, surnamed the Venerable²⁴, was a priest in the monastery at Weremouth, in the kingdom of Northumbria. His simple life will be best told in his own unaffected narration. He was born in 673.

“ BORN in the territory of the same monastery, when I was seven years of age I was, by the care of my relation, committed to the reverend Abbot Benedict to be educated, and then to Ceolfrid. I passed all the time of my life in the residence of this monastery, and gave all my labours to the meditation of the Scriptures, and to the observance of regular discipline, and the daily care of singing in the church. It was always sweet to me to learn to teach and to write.

“ IN my 19th year I was made deacon; in my 30th, a priest; both by the ministry of the most reverend Bishop John, by the direction of the Abbot Ceolfrid.

“ FROM the time of my receiving the order of priesthood to the 59th year of my life, I have employed myself in briefly noting from the works of the venerable fathers these things on the holy Scriptures for the necessities of me and mine, and in adding something to the form of their sense and interpretation.”

²⁴ They who desire to know when the name Venerable was applied to Bede, may consult the Appendix to Smith's Bede, p. 106.

THE works which he then enumerates are,
 Commentaries on most of the books of the Old
 and New Testament, and the Apocrypha.

C H A P.
 VI.

Two books of Homilies.

A book of Letters to different Persons; one on
 the Six Ages—on the Tabernacles of the Chil-
 dren of Israel—on a passage in Isaiah—on the
 Bissextile,—on the Equinox according to Ana-
 totius.

The Life and Passion of St. Felix the Confessor,
 translated into prose from the metrical work of
 Paulinus.

The Life and Passion of St. Anastasius, corrected
 from a bad translation of the Greek.

The Life of St. Cuthbert, in verse and prose.

The History of the Abbots, Benedict, Ceolfrid, and
 Huaetberct.

The Ecclesiastical History of England.

A Martyrology.

A book of Hymns in various metre or rythm.

A book of Epigrams in heroic or elegiac metre.

Book on the Nature of Things and Times.

Another book on Times.

A book on Orthography.

A book on the Metrical Art.

And a book on the Tropes and Figures used in
 Scripture ²⁵.

Besides these works, Bede wrote others on Gram-
 mar, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomy, and Astro-
 logy.

THE style of Bede in all his works is plain and
 unaffected. Attentive only to his matter, he had

²⁵ Smith's Bede, p. 222.

B O O K little solicitude for the phrase in which he dressed
 VI. it. But though seldom eloquent, and often homely, it is clear and useful. His learning, however, considered with respect to the period in which he lived, deserves our highest admiration. His reading was multifarious, and whatever he read he appropriated. His treatise on the Six Ages gives a regular series of Jewish Chronology, and then of General Chronology carried down to the year 729. His History of England is the only contemporary document we have of the transactions of the Anglo-Saxon octarchy, and it furnishes us with many particulars not to be found elsewhere. His Commentaries on the Scriptures evince much reading and plain sense. His Lives of Religious Persons are disfigured with those legends which degrade his history; but as they were the object of general admiration and belief in his day, we must not censure him too hardly for a credulity which was the leading feature in the character of his age. His works on Grammar, Astronomy, Chronology, Rhetoric, and Arithmetic, were only selections from the opinions of Roman authors on these subjects; but they poured a useful flood of matter for the exercise and improvement of the Anglo-Saxon mind. In a word, his works were in themselves a little library. To have written them in such a period of ignorance with means so imperfect displays an ardent intellect unwearied in its exertions, and must have essentially contributed to the dispersion of that mental darkness which had overspread Europe when the Gothic nations overturned the Western empire, and partitioned its domains.

HE died in the year 735, and his death is thus ^{C H A P.}
described by his pupil Cuthbert: ^{VI.}

“ HE was attacked with a severe infirmity of
“ frequent short breathing, yet without pain, about
“ two weeks before Easter-day, and so he con-
“ tinued joyful and glad, and giving thanks to Al-
“ mighty God day and night, indeed hourly, till
“ the day of Ascension. He gave lessons to us his
“ disciples every day, and he employed what re-
“ mained of the day in singing of psalms. The
“ nights he passed without sleep, yet rejoicing and
“ giving thanks, unless when a little slumber in-
“ tervened. When he waked he resumed his ac-
“ customed devotions, and with expanded hands
“ never ceased returning thanks to God. Indeed
“ I never saw with my eyes nor heard with my
“ ears any one so diligent in his grateful devotions.
“ O truly blessed man ! He sang the passage in St.
“ Paul, ‘ It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands
“ of the living God ;’ and many other things from
“ the Scripture, in which he admonished us to
“ arouse ourselves from the sleep of the mind. He
“ also recited something in our English language ;
“ for he was very learned in our songs ; and, put-
“ ting his thoughts into English verse, he spoke it
“ with compunction. ‘ For this necessary journey
“ no one can be more prudent than he ought to
“ be, to think before his going hence what of good
“ or evil his spirit after death will be judged wor-
“ thy of.’ He sang the Antiphonæ according to
“ our custom and his own, of which one is, ‘ O
“ King of Glory, Lord of virtues, leave us not or-
“ phans, but send the promise of the Father, the
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BOOK
VI.

" Spirit of Truth, upon us. Alleluia.' When he
" came to the words Spirit of Truth, he burst into
" tears, and wept much ; and we with him. We
" read and wept again ; indeed we always read in
" tears." After mentioning that he was occupied
in translating St. John's Gospel into Saxon, his
pupil adds—" When he came to the third festival
" before the Ascension-day, his breathing began to
" be very strongly affected, and a little swelling
" appeared in his feet. All that day he dictated
" cheerfully, and sometimes said, among other
" things, ' Make haste—I know not how long I
" shall last. My Maker may take me away very
" soon.' It seemed to us that he knew well he
" was near his end. He passed the night watching
" and giving thanks. When the morning dawned
" he commanded us to write diligently what we
" had begun. This being done, we walked till
" the third hour with the relics of the saints, as the
" custom of the day required. One of us was with
" him, who said, ' There is yet, beloved master,
" one chapter wanting ; will it not be unpleasant
" to you to be asked any more questions ?' he an-
" swered, ' Not at all ; take your pen, prepare it,
" and write with speed.' He did so. At the ninth
" hour he said to me, ' I have some valuables in
" my little chest. But run quickly and bring
" the presbyters of our monastery to me, that I
" may distribute my small presents.'—He addressed
" each, and exhorted them to attend to their
" masses and prayers. They wept when he
" told them they would see him no more ; but he
" said it was time that he should return to the Be-
" ing who had formed him out of nothing. He

“ conversed in this manner cheerfully till the evening, when the boy said, ‘ Dear master, one sentence is still wanting.’ ‘ Write it quick,’ exclaimed Bede. When it was finished, he said, ‘ Take my head in your hands, for I shall delight to sit opposite the holy place where I have been accustomed to pray, and where I can invoke my Father.’ When he was placed on the pavement he repeated the Gloria Patri, and expired in the effort ²⁵.”

C H A P.
VI.

BEDE was very highly respected in his day. Boniface, whose life we shall next detail, asks for his works, and speaks of him as a man enriched by the divine grace with a spiritual intellect, and as irradiating his country. Pope Sergius wished his presence in Rome for the benefit of his counsel.

BONIFACE.

BONIFACE, the Archbishop of Mentz, and the missionary whose labours spread Christianity through a large part of Germany in the eighth century, was an Anglo-Saxon. Of his life we know little. His name was Winfreth ²⁶. He calls himself German Legate of the Apostolic See ²⁷. He says of himself, “ Born and nourished in the nation of the English, we wander here by the precept of the Apostolic Seat ²⁸.” From another letter we find that he had been at Rome, to give an account of his mission, and that the Pope had exhorted him to return and persevere in his efforts ²⁹. He was in the archiepiscopal dignity from 745 to 754. His acti-

²⁵ Smith's Bede, 793. ²⁶ Bon. Ep. 16 Mag. Bib. p. 71.

²⁷ Ib. 51.

²⁸ Ib. 52.

²⁹ Ib. 60.

B O O K vity was exerted with the greatest success between
 VI. the Wezer and the Rhine. He anointed Pepin King of the Franks in 752. During his absence abroad he kept up an extensive correspondence in England. We have several of his letters to the kings of the Anglo-Saxon octarchy. He wrote to Ethelbald, King of Mercia, begging his assistance to the friend who carried his letter, and sending him some presents. To the same king he addressed a longer letter of moral rebuke and religious exhortation. Ethelbert, the King of Kent, sent to him a complimentary letter, mentioning his rumoured successes in the conversion of the Germans, and presenting him with a bowl of silver gilt. Sigebald, a king of the octarchy, wrote to him to request that he would be one of his bishops; and Æbuald, King of East Anglia, also addressed him in a very kind and respectful manner ³⁰.

His letters to Nothelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Anglo-Saxon bishops, Daniel and Eberth, and to several abbots and abbesses, are yet preserved. His correspondence with the son of Charles Martel, with Pepin King of France, and with the popes Gregory II. and III., and Zachary, also exists. He appears to have been a man of considerable attainments.

EDDIUS.

EDDIUS, surnamed Stephanus, is described by Bede ³¹ as the first singing master in the churches of Northumbria, and as having been invited from

³⁰ See these letters, 16 Mag. Bib. Pat.

³¹ Bede, I. iv, c. 2.

Kent by Wilfred. He flourished about 720, and wrote the life of Bishop Wilfred. He addresses his work to Bishop Acea and the Abbot Tatbert. It is printed by Gale, 3. p. 40. Eddius begins it with a ridiculous prodigy. While the mother of Wilfred was in labour with him, the house where she lay seemed to those without to be in flames. The neighbours hastened with water to extinguish them. But the fire was not real; it was only a type of Wilfred's future sanctity and honour. The miracles of his mature age were of course not less extraordinary. To restore a dead child to life, and to heal another with his arms and thighs broken by a fall from a scaffold; a dark dungeon supernaturally illuminated; St. Michael coming from heaven to cure him of a malady; a withered hand restored by touching the cloth in which his corpse had been laid; an angel appearing with a golden cross to hinder his chamber from being burnt; are some of the effusions of Eddius's fancy, with which he feebly attempts to adorn his composition and its object³².

THE style is not so plain as Bede, nor so affected as Aldhelm; but is seldom above mediocrity.

ALCUIN.

THE literary friend and preceptor of Charlemagne is entitled to the most honourable notice among the Saxon literati of the 8th century. He is also called Flaccus Albinus. He was born in Northumbria, and studied at York, under Eg-

³² See his Life of Wilfred in 3 Gale, Scrip.

B O O K bert. He says of himself that he was nourished
 VI. and educated at York ³³.

He was sent on an embassy from Offa to Charlemagne, and after this period the emperor was so highly attached to him, that in 790 he went to France, and settled there. Here he composed many works on the sciences and arts, which were valued in that day, for the use and instruction of Charlemagne. These still exist, and a number of letters from Alcuin to his royal pupil, with the answers of Charlemagne. Many poems also appear in his works, addressed to Charlemagne, on a variety of topics, under the name of David, and written in the most affectionate language. He was indefatigable in exciting the emperor to the love and encouragement of learning, and in the collection of MSS. for its dissemination. His efforts spread it through France, and his reputation contributed much to establish it in Europe. After the enjoyment of imperial affection and confidence to a degree which literature has never experienced in any other instance, he retired to the Abbey of Saint Martin, at Tours, where he died in 804 ³⁴.

Two quotations from one of his letters to Charlemagne will shew the excellence of his heart and mind ³⁵.

³³ Malmfb. de Gest. Reg. p. 24.

³⁴ See his Works, published by Du Chesne, at Paris in 1617.

³⁵ I shall cite this from Henry, and add his reflection at the close.

‘ The employments of your Alcuinus in his retreat are suited to his humble sphere; but they are neither inglorious nor unprofitable. I spend my time in the halls of St.

THE merit of Alcuin's poetry we have already exhibited. His prose is entitled to the praise of learning, eloquence, and more judgment than any

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' Martin, in teaching some of the noble youths under my
' care the intricacies of grammar, and inspiring them with
' a taste for the learning of the ancients; in describing to
' others the order and revolutions of those shining orbs
' which adorn the azure vault of heaven; and in explaining
' to others the mysteries of divine wisdom, which are con-
' tained in the holy scriptures; suiting my instructions to
' the views and capacities of my scholars, that I may train
' up many to be ornaments to the church of God, and to
' the court of your Imperial majesty. In doing this, I find
' a great want of several things, particularly of those excel-
' lent books in all arts and sciences which I enjoyed in my
' native country, through the expence and care of my great
' master Egbert. May it therefore please your majesty,
' animated with the most ardent love of learning, to permit
' me to send some of our young gentlemen into England,
' to procure for us those books which we want, and trans-
' plant the flowers of Britain into France, that their fra-
' grance may no longer be confined to York, but may per-
' fume the palaces of Tours.

' I need not put your majesty in mind, how earnestly we
' are exhorted in the holy scriptures to the pursuit of wis-
' dom; than which nothing is more conducive to a pleasant,
' happy, and honourable life; nothing a greater preservative
' from vice; nothing more becoming or more necessary to
' those especially who have the administration of public
' affairs, and the government of empires. Learning and
' wisdom exalt the low, and give additional lustre to the
' honours of the great. *By wisdom kings reign, and princes
' decree justice.* Cease not then, O most gracious king! to
' press the young nobility of your court to the eager pursuit
' of wisdom and learning in their youth, that they may at-
' tain to an honourable old age, and a blessed immortality.
' For my own part, I will never cease, according to my abi-

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of his contemporaries exhibited. But it must be recollected of him, as of all the writers of the Anglo-Saxon period, that their greatest merit consisted in acquiring and teaching the knowledge which other countries and times had accumulated. They added nothing to the stock themselves. They left it as they found it. But their examples and tuition contributed to preserve it and to transmit it unimpaired to others. Unless such men had existed, the knowledge which the talents of mankind had been for ages slowly acquiring would have gradually mouldered away with the few perishing MSS. which contained it. Europe would have become what Turkey is, and mankind would have been now slowly emerging into the infancy of literature and science, instead of rejoicing in that glorious

‘ lities, to sow the seeds of learning in the minds of your subjects in these parts ; mindful of the saying of the wisest man, *In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand ; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that.* To do this hath been the most delightful employment of my whole life. In my youthful years, I sowed the seeds of learning in the flourishing seminaries of my native soil of Britain, and in my old age I am doing the same in France ; praying to God, that they may spring up and flourish in both countries. I know also, O prince beloved of God, and praised by all good men ! that you exert all your influence in promoting the interests of learning and religion ; more noble in your actions than in your royal birth. May the Lord Jesus Christ preserve and prosper you in all your great designs, and at length bring you to the enjoyment of celestial glory.’—How few princes enjoy the happiness of such a correspondence, or have the wisdom and virtue to encourage it !” v. 4. p. 37.

manhood which surrounds us, and the attainment of which was prepared by the humble labours of the men whom these pages have commemorated, and of those who in these and the succeeding times pursued their course and emulated their ambition.

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THE history of the literature of the age which succeeded Alcuin has been already stated in the life of Alfred. The life of Dunstan, who shone in the following century, has been also given. We may therefore dismiss this part of our subject with a short account of Elfric, to whose labours, in the tenth century, our countrymen at large were much indebted, as his literary efforts were chiefly directed to make learning popular by transferring it to the vernacular tongue.

ELFRIC.

OF the three Elfrics who are said to have existed in this century and the next, we shall only notice the author of the Translations. Very little is known of him accurately; and therefore we shall only cite a few circumstances from his own prefaces and dedications.

HE addresses his translation of the book of Genesis to the Ealdorman Æthelweard, who, he tells us, had requested him to translate it into English as far as the history of Isaac, from which period some other person had made a version of it before his time. The address begins, "Elfric, monk, "humbly greets the Ealdorman Æthelweard"³⁶."

³⁶ Pref. to Thwaites' Heptateuch.

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He calls himself sometimes monk, and sometimes monk and mass-priest³⁷, and sometimes abbot³⁸. He describes himself as the alumnus of Athelwold, the Bishop of Winchester, in Edgar's reign³⁹. He sometimes addresses the Archbishop Sigeric⁴⁰, and sometimes the Archbishop Wulfstan⁴¹; the one of York, the other of Canterbury. In one preface he says he was sent "in the days of Æthelred the king, on the death of Athelwold, by the Bishop Elfeage, to a monastery called Cernel, at the request of the Thegn Æthelmer." From the mention of these persons it is obvious that he was born before the reign of Ethelred, and flourished both during it and beyond it. He composed or translated many homilies and lives of saints and religious treatises. We have his Glossary and Colloquius of Latin and Saxon. His Excerpta from the Latin Grammarians and from Bede; and his translations from the Scriptures. These yet exist in MS. in our public libraries⁴².

WE must admire, in all his performances, his good intentions, his piety, his industry, and his utility; but we shall find very little intellectual eminence to appreciate.

ABBO, the writer of the life of Edmund King of East Anglia, and Adelhard and Bridferth, the biographers of Dunstan, have been already noticed in

³⁷ MS. B. P. Cant. Wanley, 153.

³⁸ MS. C. C. C. Cant. K. 2. Bib. Bod. Wanl. p. 22.

³⁹ MS. Wanley, 153.

⁴⁰ MS. Wanley, 156.

⁴¹ MS. Wanley, 22. 58.

⁴² A long list of them may be found in Wanley's Catalogue.

our preceding volumes. The sermons of Bishop ^{C H A P.} Lupus, and the history of Ethelwerd, have also ^{VI.} been mentioned. They all belong to the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period.

It would carry us beyond the limits allotted to this history to give a minute detail of the various chronicles which our ancestors composed before the Norman Conquest for preserving the most important of the public events, or to detail the many Saxon treatises which were written on religious and other subjects. The curious reader will find them carefully catalogued by Wanley, in his Appendix to Hickes's Thesaurus.

C H A P. VII.

The Arts and Sciences of the Anglo-Saxons.

THEIR MUSIC.

BOOK VI. **T**HIS delightful art has been as universal as poetry; but, like poetry, has every where existed in different degrees of refinement. Among rude nations, it is in a rude and noisy state. Among the more civilised, it has attained all the excellence which science, taste, feeling, and delicate organization can give.

WE derive the greatest portion of our most interesting music from harmony of parts, and we attain all the variety of expression and scientific combination which are familiar to us by the happy use of our musical notation. The ancients were deficient in both these respects. They had no harmony of parts, and therefore all their instruments and voices were in unison, and so miserable was their notation, that it has been contended by the learned, with every appearance of truth, that they had no other method of marking time than by the quantity of the syllables of the words placed over the notes.

SAINT JEROM might therefore well say on music, "Unless they are retained by the memory 'sounds perish, because they cannot be written'."

THE ancients, so late as the days of Cassiodorus, or the sixth century, used three sorts of musical

¹ Jerom' ad Dard, de Mus. Instr.

instruments, which he calls the percussionalia, the ^{C H A P.} _{VII.} tensibilia, and the inflatila. The percussionalia, were silver or brazen dishes, or such things as, when struck with some force, yielded a sweet ringing. The tensibilia he describes to have consisted of chords, tied with art, which, on being struck with a plectrum, soothed the ear with a delightful sound, as the various kinds of cytharæ. The inflatila were wind-instruments, as tubæ, calami, organa, panduria, and such like².

THE Anglo-Saxons had the instruments of chords, and wind-instruments.

IN the drawings on their MSS. we see the horn, trumpet, flute, and harp, and a kind of lyre of four strings, struck by a plectrum.

IN one MS. we see a musician striking the four-stringed lyre, while another is accompanying him with two flutes, into which he is blowing at the same time³.

IN the MSS. which exhibit David and three musicians playing together, David has a harp of eleven strings, which he holds with his left hand while he plays with his right fingers; another is playing on a violin or guitar of four strings with a bow; another blows a short trumpet, supported in the middle by a pole, while another blows a curved horn⁴. This was probably the representation of an Anglo-Saxon concert.

THE chord instrument like a violin was perhaps that to which a disciple of Bede alludes, when he

² Cassiod. Op. 2. p. 507.

³ MS. Cott. Cleop. c. 8.

⁴ MS. Cott. Tib. c. 6.

B O O K expresses how delighted he should be to have “ a
 VI. “ player who could play on the cithara, which we
 “ call rottæ⁵.”

OF the harp Bede mentions, that in all festive companies it was handed round, that every one might sing in turn⁶. It must have therefore been in very common use.

DUNSTAN is also described by his biographer to have carried with him to a house his cythara, “ which in our language we call hearpan.” He hung it against the wall, and one of the strings happening to sound untouched, it was esteemed a miracle.

THE organ was in use among the Anglo-Saxons. Cassiodorus and Fortunatus mention the word organ as a musical instrument, but it has been thought to have been a collection of tubes blown into by the human breath. Muratori has contended that the art of making organs like ours was known in the eighth century only to the Greeks; that the first organ in Europe was the one sent to Pepin from Greece in 756, and that it was in 826 that a Venetian priest, who had discovered the secret, brought it into France⁸.

A PASSAGE which I have observed in Aldhelm’s poem, *De Laude Virginum*, entirely overthrows these theories; for he, who died in 709, and who never went to Greece, describes them in a manner

⁵ 16 Mag. Bib. p. 88. Snorre calls the musicians in the court of an ancient king of Sweden “ Leckara, Harpara, Gigiara, Fidlara.” Yng. Saga. c. 25. p. 30.

⁶ Bede, l. 4. c. 24. ⁷ MS. Cleo.

⁸ Murat. de Art. Ital. V. 2. p. 357.

which shews that he was acquainted with great organs made on the same principle as our own : C H A P.
VIL

Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris
Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste
Quamlibet auratis fulgescant cætera capsis⁹.

This is literally, "Listening to the greatest organs
" with a thousand blasts, the ear is soothed by the
" windy bellows, while the rest shines in the gilt
" chests."

DUNSTAN, great in all the knowledge of his day, as well as in his ambition, is described to have made an organ of brass pipes, elaborated by musical measures, and filled with air from the bellows¹⁰. The bells he made have been mentioned before. About the same time we have the description of an organ made in the church at Ramsey. "The earl devoted thirty pounds to make the copper pipes of organs, which resting with their openings in thick order on the spiral winding in the inside, and being struck on feast days with the strong blast of bellows emit a sweet melody and a far-resounding peal¹¹."

In 669, Theodore and Adrian, who planted learning among the Anglo-Saxons; also introduced into Kent the ecclesiastical chanting, which Gregory the Great had much improved. From Kent it was carried into the other English churches. In 678 one John came also from Rome, and taught in his monastery the Roman mode of singing, and was directed by the pope to diffuse it amongst the

⁹ 13 Max. Bib. Pat. 3.

¹⁰ 3 Gale, 366.

¹¹ 3 Gale, 420.

BOOK rest of the clergy, and left written directions to
 VI. perpetuate it. Under his auspices it became a popular study in the Saxon monasteries¹².

WE have a pleasing proof of the impressive effect of the sacred music of the monks in the little poem which Canute the Great made upon it. As the monarch, with his queen and courtiers, were approaching Ely, the monks were at their devotions. The king, attracted by the melody, ordered his rowers to approach it, and to move gently while he listened to the sounds which came floating through the air from the church on the high rock before him. He was so delighted by the effect that he made a poem on the occasion, of which the first stanza only has come down to us.

Merie fungen the mureches binnen Ely
 Tha Cnut ching reuther by :
 ‘ Roweth cnites noer the land
 ‘ And here we thes muneches fang.’

Merry fang the Monks in Ely,
 When King Canute sailed by :
 ‘ Row, Cnihts, near the land,
 ‘ And let us hear the monks’ song¹³.”

There are many ancient MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon times, which contain musical notes.

THE musical talents of Alfred and Anlaf have been noticed in the history; an ardent commendation of the art by Bede may be seen in Henry’s History¹⁴.

¹² See Bede, 4. 2; 4. 18; 5. 22. ¹³ 3 Gale, 505.

¹⁴ Henry, 4, p. 187. from Op. Bede, 1. p. 353.

THEIR PAINTING.

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THE progress of the Anglo-Saxons in the art of design and painting was not very considerable. The talents of their artists varied. The numerous coloured drawings of plants to the Herbarium of Apuleius have merit for the time; but the animals in the same MS. are indifferent¹⁵. There are also coloured drawings of the things, fabled to be in the East, in two MSS.¹⁶ The drawings to Cædmon shew little skill¹⁷. Many MSS. have the decorations of figures; as the Saxon Calendar, the Gospels, Pfalters, and others¹⁸. The account of the stars, from Cicero's translation of Aratus, contains some very elegant images¹⁹. A portrait of Dunstan is attempted in one MS.²⁰. They all exhibit hard outlines.

ROME, the great fountain of literature, art, and science, to all the west of Europe in these barbarous ages, furnished England with her productions in this art. Augustin brought with him from Rome a picture of Christ, and Benedict, in 678, imported from Rome pictures of the Virgin; and of the twelve Apostles; some of the histories in the Evangelists, and some from the subjects in the Apocalypse. These were placed in different parts of the church. In 685 he obtained new supplies of the graphic art. Bede calls them pictures from the Old and New Testament, "executed with wonderful art and wisdom." He men-

¹⁵ Cott. Lib. MSS. Vitzl. c. 3.¹⁶ MS. Tib. B. 5.¹⁷¹⁸¹⁹ MS. Cal. A. 7. Tib. B. 5. Nero, D. 4.²⁰ MS. Claud. A. 3.

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THE verb which they commonly used when they spoke of building, satisfactorily shews us that their ancient erections were of wood. It is getymbrian, 'to make of wood.' Where Bede says of any one that he built a monastery or a church, Alfred translates it getimbrade. So appropriated was the word to building, that even when they became accustomed to stone edifices they still retained it, though when considered as to its original meaning, it then expressed an absurdity; for the Saxon Chronicle says of a person, that he promised to getembrian a church of stone²⁸, which literally would imply that he made of wood a stone church. Alfred uses it in the same manner.

THE first Saxon churches of our island were all built of wood²⁹. The first church in Northumbria was built of wood. So the one of Holy Island³⁰. The church at Durham was built of split oak, and covered with reeds like those of the Scots³¹. In Greensted church in Essex, the most ancient part, the nave or body of this church, was entirely composed of the trunks of large oaks split, and rough hewed on both sides. They were set upright and close to each other, being let into a sill at the bottom, and a plate at the top, where they were fastened with wooden pins. "This," says Ducarel, "was the whole of the original church which yet remains entire, though much corroded and worn by length of time. It is 29 feet 9 inches long, and 5 feet six inches high on the sides, which supported the primitive roof³²."

²⁸ Sax. Chron. p. 28.²⁹ Bede, 3, 4.³⁰ Bede, 3, 25.³¹ Bede, ib.³² Du Carel's Anglo-Roman Antiquities, p. 100.

REMAINS of Roman architecture have been found in other parts of England. In Mr. Carter's C H A P.
VII. *Ancient Architecture of England*, and in the publication of Mr. Lysons, may be seen several fragments of a Roman temple and other buildings lately dug up at Bath, which shew that our ancestors, when they settled in England, had very striking specimens of Roman architecture before them, which must have taught them to despise their own rude performances, and to wish to imitate nobler models.

THE circles of stones which are found in Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and Derbyshire, as well as the similar ones in Westphalia, Brunswick, and Alsatia, which Keyser mentions³³, shew rather the absence than the knowledge of architectural science. They are placed by mere strength, without skill; they prove labour and caprice, but no art.

STONEHENGE is certainly a performance which exhibits more workmanship and contrivance. The stones of the first and third circles have tenons which fit to mortices in the stones incumbent. They are also shaped, though into mere simple upright stones, and the circles they describe have considerable regularity. But as it is far more probable that they were raised by the ancient Britons than by Anglo-Saxons, they need not be argued upon here.

IF the Roman buildings extant in Britain had been insufficient to improve the taste, and excite the emulation of the Saxons, yet the arrival of the Roman clergy, which occurred in the 7th century, must have contributed to this effect.

³³ Antiq. Septent. p. 5—10.

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IT is true, that architecture as well as all the arts declined, even at Rome, after the irruption of the barbarians. It is however a just opinion of Muratori³⁴, that the arts, whose exercise is necessary to life, could never utterly perish. To build houses for domestic convenience, and places, however rude, for religious worship, exacted some contrivance. But there is a great distinction between the edifices of necessity, and those of cultivated art. Strong walls, well-covered roofs, and a division of apartments; whatever simple thought, profuse expence, and great labour could produce, appeared in all parts of Europe during the barbarian ages: but symmetry and right disposition of parts, the plans of elegant convenience; of beauty and tasteful ornament were unknown to both Roman and Saxon architects, from the 6th century to very recent periods.

BUT if the science and practice of Roman and Grecian architecture declined at Rome, with its political empire, and the erections of barbarian ignorance and barbarian taste appeared instead; the effect which we are to expect would result from our ancestors becoming acquainted with the Roman models, was rather a desire for great and striking architecture, than an exact imitation of the beauty they admired. Correct and elegant architecture requires that the mind of the designer and superintendant should be cultivated with a peculiar degree of geometrical science and general taste. Masons capable of executing whatever genius may

³⁴ De Art. Ital. T. 2 p. 353.

conceive, are not alone sufficient. Of these there must have been no want in the most barbarous ages of Europe. They who could raise the stupendous monasteries and cathedrals which we read of or have seen, could have equally reared the more elegant buildings of ancient art, if an architect had existed who could have given their labour and ingenuity the requisite direction. A Wren, or a Vitruvius was wanted, not able workmen. The disciplined mind and cultured taste, not the manual dexterity.

THE arts of life are found to flourish in proportion as their productions are valued and required. When the Anglo-Saxons became converted to Christianity, they wanted monasteries and churches. And this demand for architectural ability would have produced great perfection in the art, if the state of the other arts and sciences had permitted a due cultivation of genius in this; but no single art can attain perfection if every other is neglected, or if general ignorance enfeebles and darkens the mind. Patronage therefore, though it called forth whatever mechanical labour and barbarian taste could fabricate, could not miraculously create taste and regular science. The love of sublimity is more congenial to the rude heroism of infant civilization, and therefore our ancient architecture often reached to the sublime; but while we admire its vastness, its solidity, and its magnificence, we smile at its irregularities, its discordances, and its caprice.

THE chief peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon architecture, of which several specimens, though

BOOK in fragments, exist, are declared to be a want of
 VI. uniformity of parts, massy columns, semicircular
 arches, and diagonal mouldings³⁵. Of these the
 two first are common to all the barbarous architecture of Europe. But the semicircular arches and diagonal mouldings seem to have been more peculiar additions to the Saxon building.

THAT the round arches were borrowed from Roman buildings is the prevailing sentiment. It is at least a fact, that the Saxons must have seen them among the numerous specimens of the Imperial architecture which they found in England.

THE universal diagonal ornament, or zig-zag moulding, which is a very distinguishing trait of the Saxon architecture, is found disposed in two ways; one with its point projecting outwards, and the other with its point lying so as to follow the lines which circumscribe it, either horizontal, perpendicular, or circular³⁶.

ON this singular ornament an etymological remark may be hazarded, as it may tend to elucidate its origin. The Saxon word used to denote the adorning of a building is *gefrætwan*, or *frætwan*, and an ornament it *fræteu*; but *frætan*, signifies to gnaw or to eat; and upon our recollecting that the diagonal ornament of Saxon building is an exact imitation of teeth, we can hardly refrain from supposing that the ornament was an intended imitation of teeth. *Fræteu* and *frætung*, which they used to signify ornament, may be construed fret-

³⁵ See Carter's Ancient Architecture.

³⁶ Carter, p. 15.

work, or teeth-work. The teeth which the Saxon C H A P.
VII. diagonals represent are, I believe, marine teeth. If so, perhaps, they arose from the stringing of teeth of the large sea animals.

WE will mention a few of the ancient Saxon buildings we meet with, and shew how they are described.

IN 627 Paulinus built the first Christian church in Northumbria of wood; it was afterwards rebuilt on a larger scale, and with stone; he also built a stone church at Lincoln. His church at York was not very skilfully erected; for in less than a century afterwards, Wilfrid found its stony offices half destroyed; its roof was permeable to moisture. It had windows of fine linen cloth, or latticed wood-work; but no glazed casements, and therefore the birds flew in and out, and made nests in it³⁷. So, Bede says of his church at Lincoln, that though the walls were standing, the roof had fallen down³⁸.

IN 676 Benedict sought cementarios, or masons, to make a church in the Roman manner, which he loved. But the Roman manner seems not to express the Roman science and taste, but rather a work of stone and of the large size which the Romans used. It was finished in a year after its foundation³⁹.

AT this period glass-makers were not known among the Saxons. But Benedict had heard of them, and he sent to Gaul for some to make lat-

³⁷ Mamfb. 149.

³⁸ Bede, 2. 16.

³⁹ Bede, p. 295.

BOOK VI. **O** K ticed windows to the porticoes and cænaculum of the church. From those whom he employed the Saxons learnt the art ⁴⁰.

IN the 7th century Cuthbert built a monastery, which is described. From wall to wall, it was of four or five perches. The outside was higher than a standing man. The wall was not made of cut stone, or bricks and cement, but of unpolished stones and turf, which they had dug from the spot. Some of the stones four men could hardly lift. The roofs were made of wood and clay ⁴¹.

As their architectural practice improved, they chose better materials. Thus Firman took from the church at Durham its thatched roof, and covered it with plates of lead ⁴².

ABOUT 709 Wilfrid flourished. He, like many others, had travelled to Rome, and of course beheld the most valuable specimens of ancient art. He brought thence some masons and artificers ⁴³. Though he could not imitate these, he sought to improve the efforts of his countrymen. The church of Paulinus at York, he completely repaired. He covered the roof with pure lead, he washed its walls from their dirt, and by glass windows (to use the words of my author) he kept out the birds and rain, and yet admitted light.

AT Ripon he also erected a church with polished stone, adorned with various columns and porticoes. At Hexham he made a similar building. It was

⁴⁰ Bede, p. 295.

⁴¹ Bede, p. 243.

⁴² Bede, p. 25.

⁴³ Malmsh. L. 3.

founded deep, and made of polished stones, with many columns and porticoes, adorned with great length and height of walls. It had many windings both above and below, carried spirally round. It was superior to any edifice on this side of the Alps. In the inside was a stony pavement, on which a workman fell from a scaffold of enormous height ⁴⁴.

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IN 716 we read of Croyland monastery. The marshy ground would not sustain a stony mass. The king therefore had a vast number of piles of oak and alders fixed in the ground, and earth was brought in boats nine miles off to be mingled with the timber and the marsh, to complete the foundation ⁴⁵.

IN 969 a church was built. The preceding winter was employed in preparing the iron and wooden instruments, and all other necessities. The most skilful artificers were then brought. The length and breadth of the church were measured out, deep foundations were laid on account of the neighbouring moisture, and they were strengthened by frequent percussions of the rams. While some workmen carried stones, others made cement, and others raised both aloft, by a machine with a wheel. Two towers with their tops soon rose, of which the smaller was visible on the west in the front of the church. The larger in the middle, with four spires, pressed on four columns, connected together by arches passing from one to the other, that they might not separate ⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ See Eddius Vita Wilfridi, 59—63.

⁴⁵ Ingulf, p. 4. ⁴⁶ 3 Gale, 399.

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It is supposed that many specimens of ancient Saxon architecture yet remain, as St. Peter's at Oxford, part of St. Alban's Abbey church, Tickencote church near Stamford in Lincolnshire, the porch on the south side of Shireburn Minster, Barfreston church in Kent, Ilfley church, and some others; but the works and delineations of professional men must be consulted on this subject.

CHAP. VIII.

Their Sciences.

THE most enlightened nations of antiquity had CHAP.
VIII. not made much progress in any of the sciences but the mathematical. During the Anglo-Saxon period they were nearly extinct in Christian Europe. Happily for mankind, they were attended to in this æra more efficiently in the Mahomedan kingdoms, in Spain; and the Arabian mind had the merit of preparing that intellectual feast which we are now lavishly enjoying, and perpetually enlarging.

THE history of the sciences among the Anglo-Saxons can contain little more information than that a few individuals successively arose, as Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Joannes Scotus, and a few more who endeavoured to learn what former ages had known, and who freely disseminated what they had acquired. Besides the rules of Latin poetry and rhetoric, they studied arithmetic and astronomy as laborious sciences.

IN their arithmetic, before the introduction of the Arabian figures, they followed the path of the ancients, and chiefly studied the metaphysical distinctions of numbers. They divided the even numbers into the useless arrangement of equally equal, equally unequal, and unequally equal; and the odd numbers into the simple, the composite, and the mean. They considered them again, as

B O O K even or odd, superfluous, defective or perfect, and
 VI. under a variety of other distinctions, still more unnecessary for any practical application, which may be seen in the little tracts of Cassiodorus and Bede. Puzzled and perplexed with all this mazy jargon, Aldhelm might well say that the labour of all his other acquisitions was small in the comparison with that which he endured in studying arithmetic.

THEIR astronomy was such as they could comprehend in the Greek and Latin treatises which fell into their hands on this subject. Bede was indefatigable in studying it, and his treatises were translated into the Anglo-Saxon, of which some MSS. exist still in the Cotton Library. All the studious men applied to it more or less, though many used it for astrological superstitions. It was perhaps on this account, rather than from a love of the nobler directions of the science, that our ancient chroniclers are usually minute in noticing the eclipses which occurred, and the comets and meteors which occasionally appeared.

THEIR geographical knowledge must have been much improved by Adamnan's account of his visit to the Holy Land, which Bede abridged, and by the sketch given of general geography in Orosius, which Alfred made the property of all his countrymen by his translation and masterly additions. The eight hides of land given by his namesake for a MS. of cosmographical treatises¹, of wonderful workmanship, may have been conceded rather to the beauty of the MS. than to its contents. But,

¹ Bede, 299.

notwithstanding these helps, the most incorrect and absurd notions seem to have prevailed among our ancestors concerning the other parts of the globe, if we may judge from the MS. treatises on this subject, which they took the trouble to adorn with drawings, and sometimes to translate. Two of these are in the Cotton Library, and a short notice of their contents may not be uninteresting, as a specimen of their geographical and physical knowledge.

THE MS. Tib. B. 5. contains a topographical description of some eastern regions in Latin and Saxon. From this we learn there is a place in the way to the Red Sea which contains red hens, and that if any man touches them, his hand and all his body are burnt immediately. That pepper is guarded by serpents, which are driven away by fire, and this makes the pepper black. We read of people with dogs' heads, boars' tusks, horses' manes, and breathing flames. Also of ants as big as dogs, with feet like grasshoppers, red and black. These creatures dig gold for fifteen days. Men go with female camels, and their young ones, to fetch it, which the ants permit, on having the liberty to eat the young camels².

THE same learned work informed our ancestors that there was a white human race fifteen feet high, with two faces on one head, long nose, and black hair, who in the time of parturition went to

² This was probably a popular notion; for it is said, among their prognostics, that if the sun shine on the fourth day, the camels will bring much gold from the ants, who keep the gold hoards. MSS. CCC Cant. Wanl. 110.

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India to lay in. Other men had thighs twelve feet long, and breasts seven feet high. They were cannibals. There was another sort of mankind with no heads, who had eyes and mouths in their breasts. They were eight feet tall and eight feet broad. Other men had eyes which shone like a lamp in a dark night. In the ocean there was a soft-voiced race, who were human to the navel, but all below were the limbs of an ass. These fables even came so near as Gaul, for it tells us that in Liconia in Gaul there were men of three colours, with heads like lions, and mouths like the sails of a windmill. They were twenty feet tall. They run away, and sweat blood, but were thought to be men.

THE descriptions of foreign ladies were not very gallant. It is stated that near Babylon there were women with beards to their breasts. They were clothed in horses' hides, and were great hunters, but they used tigers and leopards instead of dogs. Other women had boars' tusks, hair to their heels, and a cow's tail. They were thirteen feet high. They had a beautiful body, as white as marble, but they had camels' feet. Black men living on burning mountains; trees bearing precious stones, and a golden vineyard which had berries one hundred and fifty feet long, which produced jewels; gryphons, phoenixes, and beasts with asses' ears, sheep's wool, and birds' feet are among the other wonders which instructed our ancestors. The accounts in the MS. Vitellius, A. 15. rival the phenomena just recited, with others as credible, and are also illustrated with drawings.

WE cannot now get at the national opinions of the Anglo-Saxons on physical subjects in any other way than by observing what things they thought worthy to be committed to writing. They who could write were among the most informed part of the Saxon society, and as their parchment materials were scanty, it seems reasonable to suppose that what they employed themselves in writing stood high in their estimation. We will add a few things which are in Anglo-Saxon in a MS. in the Cotton Library.

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“ISTORIUS said that this world’s length is twelve thousand miles, and its breadth six thousand three hundred, besides the islands.—There are thirty-four kinds of snakes on the earth; thirty-six kinds of fish, and fifty-two kinds of flying fowls.—The name of the city to which the sun goes up is called Jaiaca; the city where it sets is Jainta.—Asguges, the magician, said that the sun was of burning stone.—The sun is red in the first part of the morning, because he comes out of the sea; he is red in the evening, because he looks over hell.—The sun is bigger than the earth, and hence he is hot in every country.—The sun shines at night in three places; first in Leviathan the whale’s inside. He shines next in hell, and afterwards on the islands named Glith, and there the souls of holy men remain till doomsday.—Neither the sun nor the moon shines on the Red Sea, nor does the wind blow upon it.” Some excellent moral and prudential maxims follow in the MS. ³

³ MS. Cott. Lib. Julius, A. 2.

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THE astronomical opinions which they had imbibed from their classical masters were probably as good as their books could supply, or their scholars understand. Elfric has transmitted to us, out of Alcuin, their acquired opinions on the motions of the heavens, which may be thus translated :

“THE earth consists of four creatures, or elements ; fire, air, water, and earth. The nature of fire is hot and dry ; of air, warm and wet ; of water, cold and wet ; of earth, cold and dry. Heaven is of the nature of fire, and it is always turning the stars. Foreign writers have said that it would fall, on account of its swiftness, if the seven wandering stars (dweligendan steorran) did not resist its course.—The stars of heaven are always turning round the earth from east to west, and strive against the seven wandering stars. These are called erring or wandering stars (dweligende or worigende), not because of any error, but because each of them goeth on in its own course, sometimes above, sometimes below, and are not fast in the firmament of heaven, as the other stars are. The farthest the heathen calls Saturnus ; he fulfilleth his course in thirty years. The one beneath Saturn they call Jove, and he fulfilleth his course in twelve years. The third, that goeth beneath Jove, they call Mars ; and he fulfilleth his course in two years. The fourth is the Sun ; she fulfilleth her course in twelve months ; that is, 365 days. The fifth is called Venus ; he fulfilleth his course in 368 days. The sixth is Mercury, great and bright ; he fulfilleth his course in 329 days. The seventh is the Moon, the lowest of all the stars ; he fulfilleth his course in 27 days and eight

hours. These seven stars move to the east in op-^{C H A P.}
position to the heavens, and are stronger than they ^{VIII.}
are ⁴."

- It would be absurd to talk about their chemistry, as they had none; but their methods of preparing gold for their gold writing may be mentioned, as they were in fact so many chemical experiments.

ONE method. "File gold very finely, put it in a mortar, and add the sharpest vinegar; rub it till it becomes black, and then pour it out. Put to it some salt or nitre, and so it will dissolve. So you may write with it, and thus all the metals may be dissolved."

THE gold letters of the Anglo-Saxon MSS. are on a white embossment, which is probably a calcareous preparation. Modern gilding is made on an oil size of yellow ochre, or on a water size of gypsum or white oxide of lead, or on similar substances. For gilding on paper or parchment gold powder is now used, as much as leaf gold. Our ancestors used both occasionally.

ANOTHER method of ancient chryfography :

"MELT some lead, and frequently immerse it in cold water. Melt gold, and pour that into the same water, and it will become brittle. Then rub the gold filings carefully with quicksilver, and purge it carefully while it is liquid. Before you write, dip the pen in liquid alum, which is best purified by salt and vinegar."

ANOTHER method. "Take thin plates of gold and silver, rub them in a mortar with Greek salt

⁴ Elfric's Lives of the Saints, MS. Cott. Julius, E. 7.

BOOK VI. or nitre till it disappears. Pour on water, and repeat it. Then add salt, and so wash it. When the gold remains even, add a moderate portion of the flowers of copper and bullock's gall; rub them together, and write and burnish the letters." Other methods are mentioned, by which even marble and glass might be gilt. These descriptions are taken by Muratori from a MS. of the 9th century, which contains many other curious receipts on this subject.

THEY had the art of secret writing, by substituting other letters for the five vowels: thus,

b f k p x
a e i o u

THE MS. in the Cotton Library⁶ gives several examples of this:

nys thks frfgfn syllkc thknc to rædfnnf
pmnkxm knkmkcprxm fxprxm dpmknb bktxr
kn npmknf dk skmmk.

Which are,

nys this fregen syllic thinc to rædenne
omnium inimicorum fuorum dominabitur.
In nomine Di summi.

THEIR MEDICINE.

AMONG the disorders which afflicted the Anglo-Saxons, we find instances of the scrophula, the gout, or foot adl; fever, or gedrif; paralysis, hemiplegia; ague, dysentery, consumption, or lungs adl; convulsions, madness, blindness, diseased head, the head-ach, (heafod-ece), and tumours in vari-

⁵ Tom. ii. p. 375—383.

⁶ Vitellius, E. 18.

ous parts ⁷. But if we consider the charms which they had against diseases as evidence of the existence of those diseases, then the melancholy catalogue may be increased by the addition of the poccas (pustules), fore eyes and ears, blegen and blacan blegene (blains and boils), elfsidenne, (the night-mare), cyrnla (indurated glands), toth-ece, aneurisms (wennas et mannes, heortan,) and some others ⁸.

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NATIONS in their barbarous æras have usually considered diseases to be the inflictions of evil beings whose power exceeded that of man. Adapting their practice to their theory, they have met the calamity by methods which were the best adapted, according to their system, to remove them; that is, they attacked spells by spells. They opposed charms and exorcisms to what they believed to be the work of demoniacal incantations. The Anglo-Saxons had the same superstitions. Their pagan ancestors had referred diseases to such causes, and believing the principle, they resorted to the same remedies. Hence we have in their MSS. a great variety of incantations and exorcisms against the disorders which distressed them.

WHEN some of their stronger intellects had attained to discredit these superstitions, and especially

⁷ Malmfb. 285. Bonif. Lett. 16. M. B. 115. Bede, 86, 509. 3 Gale, 470. Eddius, 44. Bede, 372. 4. 23. 4. 31. 3. 12. ; 4. 6. ; 224. 236. 256. Ingulf, 11. Bede, 297, 3. 11. 4. 3. ; 4. 10. ; 5. 2. ; 246. ; 235. 4. 19.

⁸ Cal. A. 15. CCC. Cant. Wanley, 115. Tit. D. 26. Wanley, Cat. 304. 305.

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after Christianity opened to them a new train of associations; this system of diseases originating from evil spirits, and of their being curable by magical phrases, received a fatal blow. It had begun to decline before they were enlightened by any just medical knowledge, and the consequence was, that they had nothing to substitute in the stead of charms, but the fancies and pretended experience of those who arrogated knowledge on the subject. Before men began to take up medicine as a profession, the domestic practice of it would of course fall on females, who, in every stage of society, assume the kind task of nursing sickness; and of these the aged, as the most experienced, would be preferred.

BUT the Anglo-Saxons, so early as the seventh century, had men who made the science of medicine a study, and who practised it as a profession. It is probable that they owed this invaluable improvement to the Christian clergy, who not only introduced books from Rome, but who, in almost every monastery, had one brother who was consulted as the physician of the place. We find physicians frequently mentioned in Bede; and among the letters of Boniface, there is one from an Anglo-Saxon, desiring some books de medicinalibus. He says they had plenty of such books in England, but that the foreign drawings in them were unknown to his countrymen, and difficult to acquire.

WE have a splendid instance of the attention they gave to medical knowledge in the Anglo-

Saxon medical treatise described by Wanley, which he states to have been written about the time of Alfred. The first part of it contains 88 remedies against various diseases. The second part adds 67 more; and in the third part are 76. Some lines between the second and third part state it to have been possessed by one BALD, and to have been written at the command of Cild. It is probably a compilation from the Latin medical writers. Wanley presumes that Bald wrote it; but the words imply rather possession than authorship ¹⁰.

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WE find several Saxon MSS. of medical botany. There is one, a translation of the *Herbārium* of Apuleius, with some good drawings of herbs and flowers, in the Cotton Library. Their remedies were usually vegetable medicines ¹¹.

THEIR SURGERY.

WE have a few hints of their surgical attentions, but they seem not to have exceeded those common operations which every people, a little removed from barbarism, cannot fail to know and to use.

WE read of a skull fractured by a fall from a horse, which the surgeon closed and bound up ¹²; of a man whose legs and arms were broken by a fall, which the surgeons cured by tight ligatures ¹³; and of a diseased head, in the treatment of which the medical attendants were successful ¹⁴. But we find many cases in which their efforts were un-

¹⁰ Bald habet hunc librum Cild quem conscribere iussit. Wanl. Cat. 180.

¹¹ MS. Cott. Vitel. c. 3.

¹² Bede, 5. c. 6.

¹³ Eddius, p. 63.

¹⁴ Bede, 5. 2.

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availling. Thus in an instance of a great swelling on the eyelid, which grew daily, and threatened the loss of the sight; the surgeons exhausted their skill to no purpose, and declared that it must be cut off¹⁵. In a case of a great swelling, with burning heat, on the neck, where the necklace came, it was laid open to let out the noxious matter. This treatment gave the patient ease for two days, but on the third the pains returned, and she died¹⁶. Another person had his knee swelled, and the muscles of his leg drawn up till it became a contracted limb. Medical aid is said to have been exhibited in vain, till an angel advised wheat flour to be boiled in milk, and the limb to be poulticed with it, applied while warm¹⁷. To recover his frozen feet, a person put them into the bowels of a horse¹⁸.

VENESECTON was in use. We read of a man bled in the arm. The operation seems to have been done unskilfully, for a great pain came on while bleeding, and the arm swelled very much¹⁹. Their lancet was called æder-seax, or vein-knife. But their practice of phlebotomy was governed by the most mischievous superstition. It was not used when expediency required, but when their superstitions permitted. They marked the seasons and the days on which they believed that bleeding would be fatal. Even Theodore, the monk, to whom they owed so much of their literature, added to their follies on this subject, by imparting the notion that it was dangerous to bleed when the

¹⁵ Bede, 4. 32.

¹⁶ Bede, 4. 19.

¹⁷ Bede, p. 230.

¹⁸ Malmsh. 201.

¹⁹ Bede, 5. 2.

light of the moon and the tides were increas²⁰. C H A P.
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According to the rules laid down in an Anglo-Saxon MS. the second, third, fifth, sixth, ninth, eleventh, fifteenth, seventeenth, and twentieth days of the month were bad days for bleeding. On the tenth, thirteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-eighth days it was hurtful to bleed, except during certain hours of the days. The rest of the month was proper for phlebotomy²¹. They had their tales to support their credulity. Thus we read of "sum læce, or a physician who " let his horse blood on one of these days, and " it lay soon dead²²."

We will add, as a specimen of their medical charms, their incantation to cure a fever.

" In nomine dni nri Ihu Xpi tera tera tera testis contra taberna gife ges mande leis bois eis andies mandies moab leb lebes Dns ds adjutor sit illi ill eax filiax artifex am²³."

Two of their medicines may be added, one for the cure of consumption, the other for the gout.

With lungen adle.

" TAKE hwite hare hunan (white horehound) and ysypo (hyssop) and rudan (rue) and galluc (fow bread), and bryfewyrt, and brunwyrt (brown wort), and wude merce (parsley), and grundeswylian (groundsel), of each twenty penny-weights, and take one fester²⁴ full of old ale, and

²⁰ Bede, 5. 3.

²¹ MS. Cott. Lib. Tiber. A. 3.

²² MS. Tiber. A. 3. p. 126. ²³ MS. Tib. A. 3. p. 125.

²⁴ The quantity of a fester appears from the following curious list of Anglo-Saxon weights and measures to have been fifteen pints.

¶ o o k feethe the herbs till the liquo^{be} half boiled away.
 VI. Drink every day fasting a neap-full cold, and in
 the evening as much warm."

With fot adle, (the gout).

" TAKE the herb datulus or titulosa, which we
 call greata crauleac (tuberosa ifis). Take the heads
 of it, and dry them very much, and take thereof a
 pennyweight and an half, and the pear-tree and
 roman bark, and cummin, and a fourth part of
 laurel berries, and of the other herbs half a penny-
 weight of each, and six pepper-corns, and grind all
 to dust, and put two egg-shells full of wine. This
 is true leechcraft. Give it to the man to drink till
 he be well." ²⁵

Pund eles gewi^hth xii penegum læsse thonne pund wætres.
 Pund ealoth gewi^hth vi penegum mare thoⁿ pund wætres.
 Pund wines gewi^hth xv penegum more thoⁿ i pund
 wætres.

Pund huniges gewi^hth xxxiv penegum more thoⁿ pund
 wætres.

Pund buteran gewi^hth lxxx penegum læsse thoⁿ pund
 wætres.

Pund beores gewi^hth xxii penegum læsse thoⁿ pund
 wætres.

Pund melowes gewi^hth cxv penegum læsse thoⁿ pund
 wætres.

Pund beana gewi^hth lv penegum læsse thoⁿ pund wætres,
 And xv pund wætres gath to Sestre.

Saxon MS. ap. Wanley Cat. p. 179.

²⁵ MS. Cott. Lib. Vitell. C. 3.

BOOK VII.

Their Religion.

CHAP. I.

*The History of the Propagation of Christianity among
the Anglo-Saxons.*

IT has been often remarked as a peculiar merit CHAP.
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of the Christian religion, that it neither arose from ambition, nor was propagated by the sword. It appealed unoffendingly to the reason, the sensibility, the virtue, and the interest of mankind; and it established itself in every province of the Roman empire.

WHEN the torrent of barbarians overspread Europe, to the destruction of all arts and knowledge, Christianity fell in the general shipwreck. Soon however, in some districts, she raised her mild and interesting form, and the savages yielded to her benign influence.

AMONG the Anglo-Saxons her conquest over the fierce and wild paganism which our ancestors adored was not begun, till France and even Ireland had submitted to her laws, but it was accomplished in a manner worthy of her benevolence and purity.

GENUINE piety seems to have led the first missionaries to our shores. Their zeal, their perseverance, and the excellence of the system they diffused, made their labours successful.

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GREGORY the Great was one of the few popes whose character has been distinguished by sincere religion. In some we see little else than the politician, the voluptuary, and the hypocrite. But most of the earliest possessors of the papal dignity display a nobler life; and among these Gregory is remarkable for a zeal that never slept, and for a piety that, though always eminently active, was yet injudiciously austere¹.

His father was a nobleman, who educated him for civil offices. He was always studious, though fond of costly habits of silk and gold; and he began his political life by discharging the office of the city pretor.

RELIGION exciting his attachment, he abandoned the scenes of ambition and the ornaments of luxury, and devoted himself to an ecclesiastical life. His father's death allowed him to pursue his own wishes.

OUT of his rich inheritance he built and liberally endowed six monasteries in Sicily, and one in Rome. In this he unambitiously entered as a private monk, appointing another to be its abbot. Having provided for the support of these establish-

¹ Our Venerable Bede has given a slight sketch of the Pope's Life in his history, L. 2. c. 1. Gregory of Tours, a still more ancient writer, supplies us with more information, L. 10. c. 1. Isidorus, Paulus Diaconus, Archbishop Abo, Simon Metaphrastes, and others, have also recorded him. But his most elaborate, though not most judicious biographer, is Joannes Diaconus, whose life, with the other accounts, is prefixed to the edition of Gregory's works in large folio. Paris, 1640.

ments, he sold the rest of his property, and divided C H A P.
L
it among the poor ².

His severe abstinence, watchings, prayer, and studies, occasioned a pressure of disease, which made his life a continued indisposition ³. Though possessed of all the means of the amplest indulgence, he used nothing for his daily food but raw pulse, sent by his mother. In this extreme austerity there is nothing to admire but the motive. So much self-restraint as will produce self-government is wise and salutary. All severer mortification makes a phantom of terror of that religion whose natural character is to attract mankind by her smiles, her sociability, her benignity, and her suitability to every climate of nature, and every class of mankind.

² Greg. Tourn. L. 10. c. 1. Joan. Diac. L. 1. This latter writer has crowded the life of Gregory by a series of miracles, which have as few of the graces of fancy as of truth. This author closes the life with a vision, which he boldly claims to have happened to himself.—The devil came to him as he had finished his fourth book, seized and terrified him by putting out his light. Gregory himself and two other persons immediately appeared to him, re-illuminated and consoled him! As he had given about a hundred miracles very liberally to Gregory, he seems to have thought it allowable to take the credit of a little one to himself.

³ Gregory himself says, in a letter to Leander, prefixed to his Job, “Many years have rolled over me, during which
“ I have been frequently tormented with internal pains.
“ Every hour, every moment I languish under the evils of
“ a weak and disordered stomach. I am in a slow, but perpetual fever. But in these afflictions I recollect that God
“ chastiseth every son whom he receives; and I trust that
“ the more I am oppressed with present evils, the more ardently I shall pant for a happy eternity.”

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THE accidental sight of English youth exposed to sale in the market-place at Rome, excited his first wishes for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. He was struck with their fair and beautiful countenances: he inquired who they were, and was informed that they came from Britain, where the inhabitants were all of the same complexion. When he heard that such an interesting race were still pagans, he groaned heavily, and exclaimed, "Why should the prince of darkness have such splendid subjects! Why should the mind be so dark, when the person is so beautiful!"

His sensibility was excited. On learning that their name was Angles, he found immediately associated itself with their personal appearance, and his religious impressions. "Angles! that is to say angels. They have angel countenances, and ought to join the angelic companies."

THAT such a people ought to be in the possession of a religion which Gregory considered to be the noblest gift of happiness to man, was his next association. The name of their province, Deira, was a consonancy that struck him. "De ira, from wrath! —Yes, from the wrath of God they must be plucked, and brought to the grace of Christ." While this new and benevolent idea was floating in his mind, he heard that their king's name was Ella; and with all the ardour of that sincere piety which governed his actions he exclaimed, "Alleluia! —they must sing Alleluias there in praise of their Creator!"

* Bede, L. 2. c. 1.

GREGORY obtained leave from the pope to visit England as a missionary. But the Roman people, disturbed that a man who was their favourite should undertake such a perilous enterprise, raised so much clamour at his departure that it was thought prudent to recal him⁵; and he was afterwards sent to Constantinople as the apostolical legate, where he composed his expositions on the book of Job.

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His correspondence embraced the principal regions of the known world in the different stages of his life. We have his letters to persons in Italy, Sicily, Malta, France, Spain, Naples, Corsica, Sardinia, Dalmatia, Illyricum, Corinth, Antioch, Constantinople, Numidia, and other parts of Africa. His numerous letters and writings, which fill some folio volumes, display an intellectual activity that, in a more enlightened age, and with a happier education, would have obtained no small proportion of literary celebrity.

BEFORE he was pope he gave some testimony that his compassionate admiration of the English captives was not a mere transient impression.

A LETTER of his to a dignitary in Gaul is still extant, in which he desires him to buy some cloaths for the poor Angle youths of 17 or 18 years of age, that they might be taken into monasteries⁶.

BUT when he was chosen to the pontifical dignity he determined to realize the favourite purpose of his youth. He selected Augustine and some other monks to proceed to England to preach Christianity.

⁵ Jo. Diac. H. L. 1. c. 22.

⁶ See his Letters, p. 166.

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THEY had not journeyed long before the terrors of a fierce unbelieving nation, and the difficulties of an unknown language, overcame their resolution. They sent back Augustine to remonstrate on the danger, and to persuade the pope to abandon his project. Happily for England, Gregory's mind was of sterner texture. He chided their timidity; he exhorted them not to be deterred by the fatigues of the journey, or false reports; he recommended them to the Bishop of Arles in France; and to produce a necessary subordination, and a more vigorous mission, he constituted Augustine their spiritual chief⁷.

WITH better courage they renewed their journey, and landed in Thanet. It was auspicious to their undertaking that the Queen of Kent, a Frankish princess, was a Christian.

By the aid of Franks, as interpreters, they sent a message to Ethelbert the sovereign of the country, announcing that they had arrived from Rome upon an embassy so momentous as to bring everlasting felicity to those who received it. Ethelbert ordered them to approach him. With a silver cross and a picture of Christ they advanced, singing the Litany. The king received them in the open air, that he might be less under the power of any witchcraft. They disclosed their wishes, and received this manly and sensible answer, that would not have disgraced the most enlightened philosopher.

“YOUR promises are interesting, but as they are new to me, and uncertain, I cannot forsake the

⁷ Bede, l. i. c. 23. who gives a copy of his letter.

" established customs of my nation. The distance C H A P.
 " which you have traversed for our sakes, and your I.
 " desire to impart to us what you believe to be
 " true and useful, entitle you to our hospitality.
 " You shall be supplied with food, and we shall
 " not forbid you from preaching your religion to
 " others ⁹."

THEY entered their appointed residence in Canterbury, and began a life of rigid piety. Patient, indefatigable, abstinent, and devout, they attracted the popular esteem; and the conversion of the king deciding the opinion of his subjects, their proselytes became numerous ⁹.

GREGORY watched over the infant establishment with paternal care. He sent additional missionaries, with garments, relics and books. He directed the ordination of the bishops; and to suit the prejudices of the English, he allowed the pagan temples to be used if purified; and as they were in the habit of sacrificing to their idols cattle on certain occasions, he permitted the custom to be continued, but the victims to be offered up to the Deity ¹⁰.

HAVING established Christianity in Kent, Augustin appointed Mellitus, one of his fellow missionaries, to announce it to the people of Essex. The king at this time was Seberht, the nephew of Ethelbert, and this circumstance opened an avenue for the promulgation. It spread through the province, and Ethelbert built the church of St. Paul, in London ¹¹.

⁹ Bede, L. 1. c. 25.

¹⁰ Ib. c. 30.

⁹ Ib. c. 26.

¹¹ Ib. L. 2. c. 3.

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ON the deaths of Ethelbert and Seberht, the new religion declined under the hostility of their successors. The royal opposition was so vehement that the chief ecclesiastics meditated, and some effected a temporary retreat. At last the monk who on Augustin's death had obtained his supremacy, made a bold effort to impress the mind of Eadbald, the king of Kent. He suddenly appeared before him with his body bleeding from stripes. Eadbald inquired who had been the author of such violence. The monk informed him that he was preparing to abandon the country, and that the Prince of the apostles had thus severely chastised him for so guilty a thought. The king was awed by the narration, and thus the voluntary sufferings of Lawrence, politically referred to St. Peter, caused the persecution to cease ¹².

THE people of London were more intractable. They would not re-admit Mellitus, who had been appointed their bishop, preferring their ancient priests. But in 640, Earcomberht, the son of Eadbald, removed the idols of Kent ¹³.

WITHIN less than thirty years after the arrival of Augustin, the province of Northumbria exchanged the absurdities of idolatry for the morals and hopes of Christianity. Edwin had addressed the daughter of Ethelbert by her ambassadors, but the lady disliked a pagan husband. Edwin pronounced that she and her attendants should enjoy their faith unmolested, and that he himself would have its merits considered; and if they were found

¹² Bede, L. 2. c. 6.

¹³ Ib. L. 3. c. 8.

to be more worthy of the divine Governor of the world than his national tenets, he would not hesitate to embrace it. The princess accepted his hand; and in 625 Paulinus, one of the missionaries sent by Gregory to England, accompanied her to Edwin; but his first attempts to change the opinions of the people were unsuccessful ¹⁴.

THE escape of Edwin from the dagger of the assassin ¹⁵, on the same night in which his queen experienced a safe parturition, disposed his mind to listen to the suggestions of Paulinus, who piously referred both the blessings to the divine author of the faith which his queen professed. Edwin, whose mind, however valuable, could not then, from its ignorance, have appreciated Christianity from its evidences, placed his religious decision upon one event. He was about to march his army against the king who had commissioned the assassin to attack him, and he promised Paulinus that, if victory favoured his expedition, he would renounce his idols. As a pledge of his sincerity, he allowed Paulinus to baptize his new-born daughter, who was the first of the Northumbrians that received the Christian rite. Edwin succeeded against his enemies, and fulfilled so much of his promise as to abandon his idolatry. He was not, however, one of those men who easily lay aside old prejudices, or hastily adopt new opinions. He would not embrace Christianity till his judgment was satisfied. Bede relates that he chose to hear very diligently Paulinus explain the religion, and that he also conferred

¹⁴ Bede. L. 2 c. 9.

¹⁵ See Vol. I. of this History, p. 276.

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much with his wisest nobles to be benefited by their judgment upon it. Bede adds, that as he was a man of great sagacity, he often sat by himself, silently deliberating what he ought to do, and to which religion he should adhere¹⁶.

WHILE his mind was debating with itself this great question, he received an affectionate letter from Boniface, who then held the papal see, forcibly arguing the folly of idolatry, and earnestly recommending him to embrace the Christian faith¹⁷. Edwin still paused; but at length determined to convene his witenagemot, and to be governed by its determination. The council was held, in which one of the Saxon witenas made the philosophical speech that we have already recorded; and the chief of the priests having also declared for the new religion, it was established in Northumbria¹⁸. Christianity has never been admitted into any country in a manner more worthy of itself, or more creditable to the intellect of its converts. Both Ethelbert and Edwin received it like dispassionate sages. Their faith was the offspring of a judgment deliberate and just.

As from Ethelbert the sacred flame had proceeded to Seberht and to Edwin; so from Edwin it passed to his friend Eorpwald, the King of East Anglia. Redwald, the preceding sovereign, had been converted in Kent; but, on his return into East

¹⁶ Bede, L. 2. c. 9.

¹⁷ See it in Bede, L. 2. c. 10., and another to his Queen Adelberge, c. 11.

¹⁸ Bede, L. 2. c. 13. See the speech of the Saxon witan in first Volume Ang. Sax. 278.

Anglia, his wife and friends induced him to palter C H A P.
I. with his Christianity. Desirous to please them, and to satisfy himself, he used two altars; one for his idols, and one for Christ ¹⁹. Eorpwald, on his death, received and professed it with more constancy and understanding; but, on his death the province relapsed into paganism for three years, till his brother, Sigeberht, who had been banished into France, and there imbibed Christianity, restored it on his accession ²⁰.

IN the reign of Cynegils, it was introduced into Wessex ²¹, which became the ascendant kingdom in the Saxon oetarchy. Birinus obtained a commission from the pope to preach it to that part of the English who were still uninformed of it. His efforts seem to have been favoured by Oswald, King of Northumbria, who stood sponsor to Cynegils upon his baptism. Cenwalch, his son, was less favourable at first, but returning from his exile, he adopted it again.

THE midland Angles, a branch of Mercia, were led into Christianity under Peada ²². His friend Alfrid impressed him with favourable sentiments of the Christian worship. The charms of Alhflæda, the daughter of Oswy, were refused to a pagan prince, and Peada may have listened to the Christian teachers with more earnestness as she was to be his reward; but he declared that his acceptance of Christianity was sincere, even though he should be punished by her loss.

His father, Penda, was hostile to Christianity. His ferocious mind could not estimate the value of

¹⁹ Bede, 2. 15.

²⁰ Bede, 2. 15.

²¹ Bede, 3. 7.

²² Bede, 3. 21.

B O O K a system so benevolent; but he had the manly feeling of the virtue of consistency. From those who assumed the Christian faith he expected the Christian virtues. "I despise those miserable beings, who do not obey the God in whom they believe," was a just and rational satire²³. The death of Penda removed the principal object to the general conversion of Mercia, and the election of Wulfhere completed its establishment²⁴.

VII. THE people of Essex, at the request of Oswy, King of Northumbria, again admitted the Christian teachers. Sigbercht the Little occasionally visited his friend in Northumbria, and Oswy held familiar colloquy with him on the sublime topic. He satirised the gods whom man could fabricate and destroy. He presented to his royal friend's contemplation the invisible Almighty and Eternal Being who created the universe, and governs it by his righteous providence; whose will it was the delight of reason to know, and the everlasting happiness of mankind to obey²⁵.

HIS mind, enlarged by these conferences, Sigbercht began to feel the value of Christianity. Cedd, a devout man, was, with another, invited out of Mercia to accompany him to Essex, and the nation yielded to their zeal. Some little variation ensued in a succeeding reign; but it was neither universal nor permanent.

SUSSEX was the last province in England which acceded to the revolution of its religious system. It

²³ Bede, 3. 21.

²⁴ Bede, 3. 24.

²⁵ Bede, 3. 22.

then contained 7000 families. Wulfhere, King of ^{C H A P.}
Mercia, influenced the mind of Edilwalch, the So-
vereign of Suffex, by his example and conversa-
tion; and, on his baptism, presented him with the
Isle of Wight.

CHAP. II.

*The Anglo-Saxon Te Deum and Jubilate.*BOOK
VII.

AS the proposed limits of the work allow but a contracted space for this and the remaining article, we shall not detain the mind of the reader on this subject longer than to present to him the *Te Deum* and the *Jubilate* in the Anglo-Saxon.

THE TE DEUM.

THE, God, we heriath, the, Drihten we an-
dettath.

The æcne fæder eal eorþe ewurthath.

The ealle englas, the heofenas and ealle an-
wealdum.

The, cherubim and seraphim unablinndlice
stefne clypath,

Halig! Halig! Halig! drihten, God wereda!

Fulle synt heofenas and eorþe mægenthrymmes
wuldres thines.

The, wuldorful erndracena wered,

The, witigena hergendlic getel,

The cythra scyned herath here,

Thee mbhwyrft eorþena halig andet gesomnung,

Fæder, ormætes mægen-thrymmes!

Arwurthne thinne sothne and anlicne sunu;

Haligne witodlice frefigendre Gast.

Thu, cyng wuldres cyninges' Christe,

Thu, fæderes ece thu eart funu.

C H A P.

II.

Tha to alysenne thu anfenge mann thu ne
afounedost fæmnan innath.

Thu oferfwithedum deathes angan; Thu on-
lyfdest gelyfedum ricu heofena.

Thu on tha swithran healfe Godes setst on wul-
dre fæderes.

Dema thu eart gelyfed wefan toward,
The eornostlice we halsiath thinum theowum
gehelp, tha of deorwyrthum blode thu alyfdest.

Ece do mid halgum thinum wuldor beon for-
gyfen.

Hal do folc thin; and bletsfa yrfeweardnyffe thine.

And gerece hy and upahof hy oth on ecnecnyffe.

Thurh syndrige dagas we bletsfiath the

And we heriath naman thinne on worulde and
a woruld.

Gemedema dæge thifum buton synne us
gehealdan.

Gemiltfa ure, Gemiltfa.

Sy mildheortnys thin ofer us swa swa we hyhtath
on the.

On the ic hihte; ic ne beo gescynd on ec-
nyffe²⁹.

THE JUBILATE,

DRYMATH drihtne ealle eorþan; theowiath
drihtne on blisse; Ingath on gefihthe his on blith-
ness.

Witath fortham the drihten he is God; he
worhte us, and na we sylfe us; folc his and sceap
fofstornothes his

²⁹ MS. Cott. Lib, Vespasian, A. 1,

B O O K Ingath gatu his on anddetneffe, cafertunas his
VII. on ymenum anddettath

Heriath naman his; fortham the wynsum is
 drihten, on ecneffe mildheortnes his, and oth on
 cynrene and cynrene fothfæstnefs his ²⁹.

²⁹ MS. Cott. Vitell. E. 18. another version from Vespaf.
 A. 1. may be seen in Wanley's excellent Catalogue of the
 Saxon MSS. p. 222.

BOOK VIII.

Their Language.

CHAP. I.

On the Structure or Mechanism of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

TO explain the history of any language is a task CHAP.
I.
peculiarly difficult at this period of the world,
in which we are so very remote from the era of its
original construction.

WE have as yet witnessed no people in the act of forming their language, and cannot therefore from experience demonstrate the simple elements from which a language begins, nor the additional organization which it gradually receives. The languages of highly civilized people which are those that we are most conversant with, are in a state very unlike their ancient tongues. Many words have been added to them from other languages; many have deviated into meanings very different from their primitive significations; many have been so altered by the changes of pronunciation and orthography, as scarcely to bear any resemblance to their ancient form. The abbreviations of language, which have been usually called its articles, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, and interjections; the inflections of its verbs, the declensions of its nouns,

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and the very form of its syntax have also undergone so many alterations from the caprice of human usage, that it is impossible to discern any thing of the mechanism of a language but by ascending from its present state to its more ancient form.

THE Anglo-Saxon is one of those ancient languages to which we may successfully refer, in our inquiries how language has been constructed.

As we have not had the experience of any people forming a language, we cannot attain to a knowledge of its mechanism in any other way than by analysing it; by arranging its words into their different classes, and by tracing these to their elementary sources. We shall perhaps be unable to discover the original words with which the language began, but we may hope to trace the progress of its formation, and some of the principles on which that progress has been made. In this inquiry I shall follow the steps of the author of the *Diversions of Purley*, and build upon his foundations; because I think that his book has presented to us the key to that mechanism which we have so long admired, so fruitlessly examined, and so little understood.

WORDS have been divided into nine classes: the article; the substantive or noun; the pronoun; the adjective; the verb; the adverb; the preposition; the conjunction; and the interjection.

UNDER these classes all the Saxon words may be arranged, although not with that scientific precision with which the classifications of natural history have been made. Mr. Tooke has asserted that in all languages there are only two sorts of words necessary for the communication of our thoughts, and

therefore only two parts of speech, the noun and the verb, and that the others are the abbreviations of these. That nouns and verbs are the most essential and primitive words of language, and that all others have been formed from them, are universal facts, which after reading the *Diversions of Purley*, and tracing in other languages the application of the principles there maintained, no enlightened philologist will now deny. But though this is true as to the *origin* of these parts of speech, it may be questioned whether the names established by conventional use may not be still properly retained, because the words now classed as conjunctions, prepositions, &c. ; though originally verbs are not verbs at present, but have been long separated from their verbal parents, and have become distinct parts of our grammatical syntax.

THAT the conjunctions, the prepositions, the adverbs, and the interjections of our language have been made from our verbs and nouns, Mr. Tooke has satisfactorily shewn : and with equal truth he has affirmed, that articles and pronouns have proceeded from the same source. The same may be affirmed of adjectives. Nouns and verbs are the parents of all the rest of language, and it can be proved in the Anglo-Saxon as in other tongues, that of these the nouns are the ancient and primitive stock from which all other words have branched and vegetated.

THE Anglo-Saxon adjectives may be first noticed.

THE adjectives which are or have been participles have obviously originated from verbs, and they are by no means an inconsiderable number.

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ADJECTIVES which have been formed from participles, as *aberendlic*, *bebeodenlic*, &c. are referable to the same source.

BUT the large proportion of adjectives are either nouns used as adjectives¹, or are nouns with an additional syllable. These additional syllables are or have been meaning words.

LIC is an Anglo-Saxon word, which implies similitude, and is a termination which includes a large class of adjectives².

ANOTHER large class may be ranged under the ending *leas*, which implies loss or diminution³.

ANOTHER class of adjectives is formed by adding the word *sum*, which expresses a degree or portion of a thing⁴.

OTHER adjectives are made by putting the word full at the end of nouns⁵.

A LARGE collection of them might be made, which consist of nouns, and the syllable *ig*, as *blod-ig*, *bloody*; *clif-ig*, *rocky*; *cræft-ig*, *skilful*. Other

¹ As *lath*, evil, also *pernicious*; *leng*, length, also *long*; *hige*, diligence, also *diligent*, &c.

² As *ceorlic*, vulgar, *ceorl-lic*; *cildlic*, childlike, *cild-lic*; *circlic*, ecclesiastical, *circ-lic*; *cræftlic*, workmanlike, *cræft-lic*; *freolic*, free, *freo-* (a lord) *lic*; *freondlic*, friendly, *freond-lic*; *Godlic*, divine, *god-lic*; *gramulic*, furious, *gram-* (anger) *lic*; *fænic*, muddy, *fæn-lic*, &c.

³ As *car-leas*, void of care, *car-leas*; *cræftleas*, ignorant, *cræft-leas*; *facenleas*, not deceitful, *facen leas*; *feoh-leas*, moneyless, *dream-leas*, joyless, &c.

⁴ As *fremsum*, benign, *freme-sum*, *win-sum*, joyful, &c.

⁵ As *facen-ful*, deceitful; *deorc-full*, dark; *ege-full*, fear-ful, &c.

adjectives are composed of a noun and cund ; others C H A P. I.
of a noun and bæ, &c. &c.

AFTER these examples, it will be unnecessary to go through all the classes of adjectives to shew that they are either participles of verbs, or have sprung from nouns. Every one who takes that trouble will be convinced of the fact. I will only remark, that the Saxon comparative degree is usually formed by the addition of er. Now er or ær is a word which implies priority, and is therefore very expressively used to denote that degree of superiority which the comparative degree is intended to affirm. So est, which is the termination of the Saxon superlatives, is a noun which expresses munificence or abundance. Tir is a præfix which makes a superlative, and tir signifies supremacy and lordship.

THE Anglo-Saxon VERBS have essentially contributed to form those parts of speech which Mr. Tooke has denominated the abbreviations of language. The verbs, however, are not themselves the primitive words of our language. They are all in a state of composition. They are like the secondary mountains of the earth—they have been formed posterior to the ancient bulwarks of human speech, which are the nouns—I mean of course those nouns which are in their elementary state.

IN some languages, as in the Hebrew, the verbs are very often the nouns applied unaltered to a verbal signification. We have examples of this sort of verbs in our English words, love, hate, fear, hope, dream, sleep, &c. These words are nouns, and are also used as verbs. Of verbs thus

BOOK made by the simple application of nouns in a verbal
 VIII. form, the Anglo-Saxon gives few examples.

Almost all its other verbs are nouns with a final syllable added, and this final syllable is a word expressive of motion, or action, or possession.

To shew this fact, we will take some of the Anglo-Saxon verbs :

Bad, <i>a pledge.</i>	bad-ian, <i>to pledge.</i>
bær, <i>a bier.</i>	bær-an, <i>to carry.</i>
bæth, <i>a bath.</i>	bæth-ian, <i>to wash.</i>
bat, <i>a club.</i>	beat-an, <i>to beat.</i>
bebod, <i>a command.</i>	bebod-an, <i>to command.</i>
bidde, <i>a prayer.</i>	biddan, <i>to pray.</i>
big, <i>a crown.</i>	bigan, <i>to bend.</i>
blifs, <i>joy.</i>	bliffian, <i>to rejoice.</i>
blostm, <i>a flower.</i>	blostmian, <i>to blossom.</i>
blot, <i>a sacrifice.</i>	blotan, <i>to sacrifice.</i>
bod, <i>an edict.</i>	bodian, <i>to proclaim.</i>
borg, <i>a loan.</i>	borgian, <i>to lend.</i>
bridl, <i>a bridle.</i>	bridlian, <i>to bridle.</i>
broc, <i>misery.</i>	brocian, <i>to afflict.</i>
bye, <i>an habitation.</i>	byan, <i>to inhabit.</i>
byseg, <i>business.</i>	bysgian, <i>to be busy.</i>
bysmr, <i>contumely.</i>	bysmrian, <i>to deride.</i>
bytla, <i>a builder.</i>	bytliau, <i>to build.</i>
car, <i>care.</i>	carian, <i>to be anxious.</i>
ceap, <i>cattle.</i>	ceapian, <i>to buy.</i>
cele, <i>cold.</i>	celan, <i>to cool.</i>
cerre, <i>a bending.</i>	cerran, <i>to return.</i>
cid, <i>strife.</i>	cidan, <i>to quarrel.</i>
cnyt, <i>a knot.</i>	cnyttan, <i>to tie.</i>
comp, <i>a battle.</i>	compian, <i>to fight.</i>
cræft, <i>art.</i>	cræftan, <i>to build.</i>
curs, <i>a curse.</i>	curfian, <i>to curse.</i>
cwid, <i>a saying.</i>	cwyddian, <i>to say.</i>
cyrn, <i>a noise.</i>	cyrman, <i>to cry out.</i>
cyth, <i>knowledge.</i>	cythan, <i>to make known.</i>
cos, <i>a kiss.</i>	cyffian, <i>to kiss.</i>

Dæl, *a part.*
dæg, *day.*
deag, *colour.*

Dælan, *to divide.*
dægian, *to shine.*
deagan, *to tinge.*

C H A P.
I.

IF we go through all the alphabet we shall find that most of the verbs are composed of a noun, and the syllables an, ian, or gan. Of these additional syllables gan is the verb of motion, to go, or the verb agan, to possess, and an seems sometimes the abbreviation of anan, to give¹, and sometimes of the verbs gan and agan. Thus deagan, to tinge, appears to me deag-an, to give a colour; dælan, to divide, dæl-an, to give a part; cossan, to kiss, cos-an, to give a kiss; cursian, to curse, curs-an, to give a curse: while we may presume that carian, to be anxious, is car-agan, to have care; blöstmian, to blossom, is blöstm-agan, to have a flower; byan, to inhabit, is by-agan, to have a habitation. We may also say that cidan, to quarrel, is the abbreviation of cid-gan, to go to quarrel; bæthian, to wash, is bæth-gan, to go to a bath; biddan, to pray, is bidde-gan, to go to pray. The Gothic to pray, is bidgan.

THAT the words gan, or agan, have been abbreviated or softened into an, or ian, can be proved from several verbs. Thus fylgan, or filigian, to follow, is also filian.—Thus fleogan, to fly, becomes also fleon and flion.—So forhtigan, to be afraid, has become also forhtian.—So fundigan has become fundian; gethyldgian, gethyldian; fengan,

¹ It is probable that anan is a double infinitive, like gan-gan to go, and that an is the original infinitive of the verb to give.

B O O K foan and fon; and teogan, teon. The examples of
 VIII. this change are innumerable.

THIS abbreviation is also proved by so many of the participles of the abbreviated verbs ending in gend, thus showing the original infinitive to have been gen; as frefrian, to comfort, has its participle frefergend; fremian, to profit, freomigend; fulian has fuligend; gæmnian, gæmnigend, &c.

MANY verbs are composed of the terminations above-mentioned, and of words which exist in the Anglo-Saxon, not as nouns but as adjectives, and of some words which are not to be met with in the Anglo-Saxon, either as nouns or adjectives. But so true is the principle, that nouns were the primitive words of these verbs, and that verbs are but the nouns with the additional final syllables, that we shall very frequently find the noun we search for existing in the state of a noun in some of those languages which have a close affinity with the Anglo-Saxon. This language meets our eye in a very advanced state, and therefore when we decompose it we cannot expect to meet in itself all its elements. Many of its elements had dropped out of its vocabulary at that period wherein we find it, just as in modern English we have dropped a great number of the words of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. In this treatise, which the necessary limits of my publication compel me to make very concise, I can only be expected to give a few instances.

BERAN is to bring forth, or produce; there is no primitive noun answering to this verb in the Anglo-Saxon, but there is in the Frankscheotisc,

where we find *bar* is fruit, or whatever the earth produces: *ber-an* is therefore to give fruit, or to produce. So *mærfian*, to celebrate, is from *segan*, to speak, and some noun from which the adjective *mæra*, illustrious, had been formed. The noun is not in the Saxon, but it is in the *Francotheotisc*, where *mera*, is fame, or rumour, therefore *mærfian*, to celebrate a person, is *mera-segan*, to speak his fame. I have observed many examples of this sort.

IN searching for the original nouns from which verbs have been formed we must always consider if the verb we are inquiring about be a primitive verb or a secondary verb, containing either of the præfixes *a*, *be*, *ge*, *for*, *on*, *in*, *to*, *with*, &c. &c. In these cases we must strip the verb of its præfix, and examine its derivation under its earlier form. The verbs with a præfix are obviously of later origin than the verbs to which the præfix has not been applied.

SOMETIMES the verb consists of two verbs put together, as *gan-gan*, to go; so *for letan*, to dismiss or leave, is composed of two verbs, *faran*, to go, *letan*, to let or suffer, and is literally to let go.

THE Anglo-Saxon nouns are not all of the same antiquity, some are the primitive words of the language from which every other has branched, but some are of later date.

WE have mentioned the nouns of which the adjectives and the verbs have been formed. Such nouns are among the earliest of the language. But the more ancient nouns having been applied to

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form the adjectives and the verbs, a more recent series of nouns has been made by subjoining new terminations to the adjectives and verbs. Thus we have traced the noun *car* to the adjective *car-full*. But this adjective, having been thus formed, has become the basis of a new substantive, by the addition of the syllable *nyffe*, and thus we have *carfulnyffe*. In the same way the new noun *carleafness* has been made. So *facenfulness*, &c. &c.

A GREAT many nouns have been made from verbs; as, *gearcung*, preparation, from *gearcian*, to prepare; *gearnung*, earning, from *gearnian*, to earn; *geascung*, an asking, from *geascian*, to ask; *gebicnung*, a presage, from *gebicnian*, to shew, &c.

A NEW set of secondary nouns has been made by combining two more ancient nouns. Thus *accorn*, an acorn, is made up of *ac*, an oak and *corn*, and thus *accorn* is literally the corn of the oak; so *ceapscipa* is a merchant ship; *ceapman* a merchant, from *ceap*, originally cattle, and afterwards property, or business; and the other nouns, *scipa*, a ship; and *man*, a man. Thus *ceasterwara*, citizens, literally *ceaster*, a city, and *wara*, men. So *burg-wara*, citizens, from *burg* and *wara*. So *eorldom*, friendship, &c.

A GREAT many secondary nouns has been made by adding nouns of meaning terminations, which are in fact other nouns, as *esse*, or *ness*; *eld*; *er*; *ing*; *leaste*; *dom*, *ric*, *had*; *scipe*; *scire*.

A VERY large proportion of nouns has been made by applying the primitive noun in a variety of

figurative meanings. Thus originally *ceap*, cattle; ^{C H. A.} *caine* afterwards to express business, also sale, and ^{I.} also food. So *cniht*, a boy, a servant, a youth, a disciple, a client, and a foldier; *cræft*, art, is also workmanship, strength, power, and cunning. But an hundred examples might be adduced on this topic.

THIS view of the decomposition of the Anglo-Saxon language exhibits the same principles of mechanism which may be found in other languages. They appear very conspicuously in the Welsh language, which, from the long seclusion of the Welsh nation, has retained more of its ancient form than any other language now spoken in Europe. They may be also seen in the Gaelic.

HAVING thus succinctly exhibited the Anglo-Saxon language in a state of decomposition, we may form some notion of its mechanism and progress.

THE primitive nouns expressing sensible objects, having been formed, they were multiplied by combinations with each other. They were then applied to express ideas more abstracted. By adding to them a few expressive syllables, the numerous classes of verbs and adjectives arose; and from these again other nouns and adjectives were formed. The nouns and verbs were then abbreviated and adapted into conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, and interjections. The pronouns were soon made from a sense of their convenience; and out of these came the articles. To illustrate these principles, from the various languages which I have examined, would

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expand these few pages into a volume, and would be therefore improper; but I can recommend the subject to the attention of the philological student, with every assurance of a successful research.

THE multiplication of language by the metaphorical application of nouns to express other nouns, or to signify adjectives, may be observed in all languages. Thus, *beorht*, light, was applied to express bright, shining, and illustrious. So *deop*, the sea, was applied to express depth.

As a specimen how the Anglo-Saxon language has been formed from the multiplication of simple words, I will shew the long train of words which have been formed from a few primitive words. I select four of the words applicable to the mind. The numerous terms formed from them will illustrate the preceding observations on the mechanism of the language.

Ancient noun:

HYGE, or *hige*, mind, or thought.

Secondary meaning:—*care, diligence, study*.

Hoga, care.

Hogu, care, industry, effort.

Adjective, being the noun so applied:

hige, diligent, studious, attentive.

hoga, prudent, solicitous.

Verbs from the noun:

hogian, to meditate, to study, to think, to be wise, to be anxious; and hence to groan.

hygian, } to study, to be solicitous, to endeavour.

hyggan, }

THE verb, by use, having gained new shades of meaning and applications, we meet with it again; as,

hicgan, } to study, to explore, to seek vehemently, to endeavour, to struggle.

hycgan, }

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Secondary noun derived from the verb :

hogung, *care, effort, endeavour.*

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I.

Secondary nouns compounded of the ancient noun and another :

higecraeft, *acuteness of mind.*

higeleaft, *negligence, carelessness.*

higeforga, *anxieties, mental griefs.*

hogafcip, } *prudence.*

hogofcip, }

hygeleaft, *folly, madness, jcurrility.*

hygefcaeft, *the mind or thought.*

Adjectives composed of the ancient noun and a meaning word :

hygeleafc, *void of mind, foolifh.*

hyge rof, } *magnanimous, excellent in mind.*

hige rof, }

hogfæft, } *prudent.*

hogofæft, }

hogfull, *anxious, full of care.*

hige frod, *wife, prudent in mind.*

hige leas, *negligent, incurious.*

hige ftrang, *ftiong in mind.*

hige thancle, *cautious, provident, thoughtful.*

Adverbs from the adjective :

higeleas lice, *negligently, incuriously.*

hogfull lice, *anxiously.*

Ancient noun :

Mod, *the mind; alfo paffion and irritability.*

Verb :

modian, } *to be high minded.*

modigan, } *to rage.*

modgian, } *to fwell.*

Adjectives composed of the noun and another word or fyllable :

modeg, } *irritable.*

modig, } *angry, proud.*

modful, *full of mind, irritable.*

modga, *elated, proud, diftinguifhed.*

modhwata, *ftirid in mind.*

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modilic, *magnanimous*.
 mod leas, *weak-minded, pusillanimous*.
 mod stathol, *firm-minded*.
 modthwer, *patient in mind, meek, mild*.

Secondary nouns composed of the ancient noun and some other :

mod gethanc, *thoughts of the mind, council*.
 mod gethoht, *strength of mind, reasoning*.
 mod gewinne, *conflicts of mind*.
 modes mynla, *the affections of the mind—the inclinations*.
 modhete, *heat of mind—anger*.
 modleaste, *folly, pusillanimity, slothfulness*.
 modnesse, *pride*.
 modsefa, *the intellect—sensation—intelligence*.
 mod sorg, *grief of mind*.

Secondary nouns of still later origin, having been formed after the adjectives, and composed of an adjective and another noun :

modigneſſe,
 modineſſe, *moodiness, pride, animosity*.
 mod ſeocneſſe, *sickness of mind*.
 mod ſtatholnyſſe, *firmness of mind, fastitude*.
 mod ſumneſſe, *concord*.
 modthærneſſe, *patience, meekness*.

Adverb formed from the adjective :
 modiglice, *proudly, angrily*.

The ancient noun :

WIT, } *the mind—genius—the intellect—the sense*.
 Gewit, }

Secondary meaning :—*wisdom—prudence*.

Noun applied as an adjective :

wita,
 wite, *wise—skilful*.
 Gewita, *conscious*; hence a witness.

Verb formed from the noun :

witan, *to know, to perceive*.
 gewitan, *to understand*.
 witegian, *to prophecy*.

Adjectives composed of the ancient noun, and an additional syllable or word :

wittig,	<i>wise, skilled, ingenious, prudent.</i>
ge-witig,	<i>knowing, wise, intelligent.</i>
ge witleas,	<i>ignorant, foolish.</i>
ge wittig,	<i>intelligent, conscious.</i>
ge witscoc,	<i>ill in mind, demoniac.</i>
witol, wittol,	<i>wise, knowing.</i>

Secondary nouns formed of the ancient noun and another noun :

witedom,	<i>the knowledge of judgment, prediction.</i>
witega,	<i>a prophet.</i>
witegung,	<i>prophecy.</i>
wite saga,	<i>a prophet.</i>
gewitleast,	<i>folly, madness.</i>
ge wit loca,	<i>the mind.</i>
ge witnefs,	<i>witness.</i>
gewitfcipe,	<i>witness.</i>
wite clofe,	<i>trifles.</i>
witword,	<i>the answer of the wise.</i>

Nouns of more recent date, having been formed out of the adjectives ;

gewitfeocnefs,	<i>insanity.</i>
witigdom,	<i>knowledge, wisdom, prescience.</i>
witolneffe,	<i>knowledge, wisdom.</i>

Secondary adjective, or one formed upon the secondary noun :
witedomlic, *prophetical.*

Conjunctions :

witedlice,	} <i>indeed, for, but, so wit.</i>
witodlice,	

Adverbs formed from participles and adjectives :

witendlice,	<i>knowingly.</i>
wittiglice,	

Ge-THANC,	} <i>the mind, thought, opinion.</i>
Ge-thonc,	
thank,	} <i>the will.</i>
thonc,	
	} <i>thought.</i>

Secondary meaning :—*an act of the will, or thanks.*

thing,	} <i>a council.</i>
gething,	

And from the consequence conferred by sitting at the council, came

gethincth,	<i>honour, dignity.</i>
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BOOK Verbs formed from the noun :

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thincan,	} <i>to think; to conceive, to feel, to reason, to consider.</i>
thencan,	
gethencan,	} <i>to think.</i>
gethengean,	
thancian,	} <i>to thank.</i>
gethancian,	
thingan,	<i>to address, to speak, to supplicate.</i>
gethancmetan,	<i>to consider.</i>

Adjectives formed from the ancient noun :

thancol,	} <i>thoughtful, meditating, cautious.</i>
thoncol,	
ge thancol,	<i>mindful.</i>
thancful,	<i>thankful, ingenious, content.</i>
thancwurth,	<i>grateful.</i>
thancolmod,	<i>provident, wise.</i>

Secondary noun formed from the verb :

thoht,	} <i>thinking, thought.</i>
gethoht,	
getheahht,	<i>council.</i>
getheahtere,	<i>counsellor.</i>
thankung,	<i>thanksgiving.</i>
thancmetuneg,	<i>deliberation.</i>

Secondary verb, from one of these secondary nouns :

getheahhtian, *to consult.*

More recent noun, formed from the secondary verb :

getheahting, *council—consultation.*

Another secondary verb :

Ymbethencan, *to think about any thing.*

Adjective from a secondary verb :

getheahhtendlic, *consulting.*

Adverb from one of the adjectives :

thancwurthlice, *gratefully.*

C H A P. II.

On the Originality of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

IT is difficult to ascertain the originality of the ^{C H A P. II.} Saxon language; because, however rude the people who used it may have appeared to us, it is a fact that their language comes to us in a very cultivated shape.

Its cultivation is not only proved by its copiousness—by its numerous synonyms—by the declension of its nouns—the conjugation of its verbs—its abbreviated verbs, or conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositions, and its epithets or adjectives; but also by its immense number of compound words applying to every shade of meaning.

By the Anglo-Saxon appearing to us in a state so advanced it is very difficult to ascertain its originality. It is difficult, when we find words corresponding with those of other languages, to distinguish those which it originally had, like the terms of other tongues, and those which it has imported.

THE conjugation of its substantive verb, however, proves that it is by no means in its state of original purity; for instead of this being one verb, with inflections of itself throughout its tenses, it is composed of the fragments of no fewer than five substantive verbs, the primitive terms of which appear in other languages. The fragments of these five words are huddled together in the Anglo-Saxon, and thus make up its usual conjugations.

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To perceive this curious fact, it will be useful to recollect the same verb in the Greek and Latin.

IN the Greek the verb *εἶμι* is regularly deflected through almost all its tenses and persons. In the Latin it is otherwise. We begin these with *sum*, and pass directly to the inflections of another word more like the Greek *εἶμι*; but the inflections of *sum* are frequently intermixed. Thus,

Sum,	sumus.
es,	estis.
est,	sunt.

Here we see at one glance two verbs deflecting; the one into *sum, sumus, sunt*; the other into *es, est, estis*. In the imperfect and future tenses *eram* and *ero*, we see one of the verbs continuing; but in the perfect, *fui*, a new deflecting verb suddenly appears to us:

fui, fuisti, fuit, fuimus, fuistis, fuerunt.

In another of its tenses we have the curious exhibition of two of the former verbs being joined together to make a new inflection; as,

fuero, fueris, fuerit, &c.

This is literally a combination of *fui* and *ero*; which indeed its meaning implies, "*I shall have been.*"

THE Anglo-Saxon substantive verb is also composed out of several verbs. We can trace no fewer than five in its different inflections.

I am, eom, eart, ys, synd, fynd, fynd.
I was, wæs, wære, wæs, wæron, wæron, wæron.
beo, byst, byth, beoth, beoth, beoth.

The infinitive is *beon*, or *wesan*, *to be*.

These are the common inflections of the above C H A P.
tenses; but we sometimes find the following varia- II.
tions:

for *I am*, we sometimes have eom, am, om, beo,
ar, fy;

for *thou art*, we have occasionally eart, arth,
bist, es, fy;

for *he is*, we have ys, bith, fy;

and for the plural we have synd, syndon, synt,
sien, beoth, and bithon.

In these inflections we may distinctly see five
verbs, whose conjugations are intermixed.

eom, es, ys, are of one family, and
resemble the Greek *εἰμι*.

ar, arth, and am, are, proceed from another pa-
rent, and are not unlike
the Latin *eram*.

fy, fy, fy, synd, are from another, and
recal to our minds the
Latin *sum* and *sunt*.

wæs, wære, wæs, wæron, seem referable to another
branch, of which the
infinitive, *wesan*, was
retained in the Anglo-
Saxon.

beon, bist, bith, beoth, belong to a distinct fa-
mily, whose infinitive,
beon, was kept in use.

But it is curious to consider the source of the last
verb, beo and beon, which the Flemings and Ger-
mans retain in *ik ben* and *ick bin*, *I am*.

THE verb beo seems to have been derived from
the Cimmerian or Celtic language, which was the

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earliest that appeared in Europe; because the Welsh, which has retained most of this tongue, has the infinitive, *bod*, and some of its inflections. The perfect tense is

bum, buost, bu, buam, buac, buant.

THE Anglo-Saxon article is also compounded of two words; as

Nom.	<i>Se, seo, that.</i>
Gen.	<i>thæs, thære, this.</i>
Dat.	<i>tham, thære, tham.</i>
Acc.	<i>thone, tha, that.</i>

Se and *that* are obviously distinct words.

WHEN we consider these facts, and the many Anglo-Saxon nouns which can be traced into other languages, it cannot be affirmed that the Anglo-Saxon exhibits to us an original language. It is an ancient language, and has preserved much of the primitive form; but a large portion of it seems to have been made up from other ancient languages.

CHAP. III.

On the Copiousness of the Saxon Language.

THIS language has been thought to be a very CHAP.
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rude and barren tongue, incapable of expressing any thing but the most simple and barbarous ideas. The truth, however, is, that it is a very copious language, and is capable of expressing any subject of human thought. In the technical terms of those arts and sciences which have been discovered, or much improved, since the Norman Conquest, it must of course be deficient. But books of history, belles lettres, and poetry, may be now written in it, with considerable precision and correctness, and even with much discrimination, and some elegance of expression.

THE Saxon abounds with synonyms. I will give a few instances of those which my memory can supply. To express

MAN.

man.

mith.

fra.

calla.

guma.

hæleth.

wer.

rinc.

folc.

Secgelderbarnum.

WOMAN.

ides.

wyf.

femne.

megth.

ewe.

meowla.

blad.

mennan.

piga.

Gebedda.

For persons possessing Power and authority they used
waldende. baldor.
brego. frumgara.

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brema.	drihten.
brytta.	ealdor.
frea.	hlaford.
tyr.	beorn.
hold.	wetha.
theodne.	here.
tohtan.	refwa.

Besides the compounds

folces refwan.	leodhata.
folc togan.	heathorinc.
wigina bakder.	leoda refwan.
burga ealdor.	æthelboren.
rice man.	frymtha wal dend.

And besides the official names of

cyning.	eorl.
ealdorman.	thegn.
heretogas.	gefitheundeman, &c.

For PROPERTY they had in use the terms

yrfe.	fceat.
reaf.	finc.
æhta.	ceap.
feoh.	

Besides the metaphors from the metals and coins.

In a poem we find the following synonymous terms used to express convivial shouting.

hlydde.	strynde.
hlyned.	gelyde.
dyned.	

To the MIND we find several words appropriated.

mod.	sefa.	higefceft.
gethanc.	mod-sefa.	ingehygd.
ferth.	gemynd.	mod-gethoht.
hige.	gefræge.	gethoht.
hrether.	ge wit.	orthanc.
gewit loca.	runcofa.	andgit.

For knowledge and learning they had list, cræft, leorning, leornesse.

For the sea,

brynn.	mære.	egitresni.
loge.	yth.	wateres.

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fæ.	garfæcg.	holm.
ea.	stream.	fewe.
flode.	willflood.	

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}

Besides numerous metaphors ; as
Swan-rade.
Ganotes bath, &c.

For Poetry and Song,

leoeth.	dreamneffe.
fitt.	gethwere.
gyd.	spell.
fang.	

They had a great number of words for a ship ; and to express the Supreme they used more words and phrases than I can recollect to have seen in any other language.

INDEED the copiousness of their language was receiving perpetual additions from the lays of their poets. I have already mentioned that the great features of their poetry were metaphor and periphrasis. On these they prided themselves. To be fluent in these was the great object of their emulation ; the great test of their merit. Hence Cedmon, in his account of the deluge, uses near thirty synonymous words and phrases to express the ark¹. They could not attain this desired end without making new words and phrases by new compounds,

¹ As, the ship, the sea-house, the greatest of watery chambers, the arc, the great sea-house, the high mansion, the holy wood, the house, the great sea-chest, the greatest of treasure-houses, the vehicle, the mansion, the house of the deep, the palace of the ocean, the cave, the wooden fortress, the floor of the waves, the receptacle of Noah, the bosom of the vessel, the nailed building, the ark of Noah, the moving roof, the feasting-house, the vehicle of the ark, the happiest mansion, the building of the waves, the foamy ship, the happy receptacle.

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and most of these became naturalized in the language. The same zeal for novelty of expression led them to borrow words from every other language which came within their reach.

WE have a specimen of the power of the language in Elfric's Saxon Grammar, in which we may perceive that he finds Saxon words for the abstruse distinctions and definitions of grammar. A few may be added.

verbum.	word.
accidentia.	gelimplic thing.
significatio.	getacnunge.
actio.	dæde.
passio.	throwinge.
tempus.	tid.
modus.	ge met.
species.	hiw.
figura.	gefegednyfs.
conjugatio.	getheodnyfs.]
persona.	had.
numerus.	getel.
anomala.	unemne.
inequalis.	ungelic.
defectiva.	ateorigendlic.
frequentativa.	gelomlæcende.
inchoativa.	onginnendlic '.

To express indeclinables the natural resources of the language failed him, and he adopts the Latin word, and gives it a saxonized form.

THE astronomical treatises which have been already mentioned shew a considerable power in the language to express even matters of science.

BUT the great proof of the copiousness and power of the Anglo-Saxon language may be had from considering our own English, which is prin-

cipally Saxon. It may be interesting to shew this by taking some lines of our principal authors, and marking in *Italics* the Saxon words they contain. C H A P.
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SHAKESPEAR.

*To be or not to be, that is the question ;
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The stings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them. To die ! to sleep !
No more ! and by a sleep to say we end
This heart-ach, and the thousand natural shocks
The flesh is heir to ! 'twere a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd. To die ; to sleep ;
To sleep ! perchance to dream ?*

MILTON.

*With thee conversing I forget all time,
All seasons, and their change ; all please alike.
Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
With charm of earliest birds ; pleasant the sun
When first on this delightful land he spreads
His orient beams on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
Glist'ring with dew ; fragrant the fertile earth
After soft showers ; and sweet the coming on
Of grateful evening mild ; then silent night
With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,
And these the gems of heaven, her starry train,*

COWLEY.

*Mark that swift arrow ! how it cuts the air.
How it outruns the following eye !
Use all persuasions now and try
If thou canst call it back, or stay it there.
That way it went ; but thou shalt find
No track is left behind.
Fool ! 'tis thy life, and the fond archer thou.
Of all the time thou'st shot away
I'll bid thee fetch but yesterday,
And it shall be too hard a task to do.*

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Translators of the Bible.

And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon, for they heard that they should eat bread there. And when Joseph came home they brought him the present which was in their hand into his house, and bowed themselves to him to the earth. And he asked them of their welfare, and said, is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake, is he yet alive? And they answered, thy servant our father is in good health, he is yet alive. And they bowed down their heads and made obeisance. And he lifted his eyes and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, is this your younger brother of whom ye spake unto me, and he said God be gracious unto thee my son. Gen. xliii. 25—29.

Then when Mary was come where Jesus was, and saw him, she fell down at his feet, saying unto him, Lord, if thou hadst been here my brother had not died. When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews also weeping which came with her, he groaned in the Spirit and was troubled. And said, where have ye laid him? They said unto him, Lord, come and see. Jesus wept. Then said the Jews, behold how he loved him. John, xi. 32—36.

THOMSON.

*These as they change, Almighty Father! these
Are but the varied God. The rolling year
Is full of thee. Forth in the pleasing spring
Thy beauty walks, thy tenderness and love.
Wide flush the fields; the soft'ning air is balm,
Echo the mountains round; the forest smiles
And every sense and every heart is joy.
Then comes thy glory in the summer months,
With light and heat refulgent: Then thy sun
Shoots full perfection, through the swelling year.*

ADDISON:

I was yesterday, about sun-set, walking in the open fields, till the night insensibly fell upon me. I at first amused myself with all the richness and variety of colours which appeared in the western parts of heaven. In proportion as they faded away and went out, several stars and planets appeared, one after another, till the whole firmament was in a glow. The blueness of the æther was exceedingly brightened and enlivened by the season of the year.

SPENSER.

*Hard is the doubt, and difficult to deem,
When all three kinds of love together meet,*

*And do dispart the heart with power extreme,
Whether shall weigh the balance down; to sweet
The dear affection unto kindred sweet,
Or raging fire of love to woman kind,
Or zeal of friends combin'd with virtues meet;
But of them all the band of virtuous mind
Me seems the gentle heart should most assured bind.*

Book iv. c. 9.

LOCKE.

Every man, being conscious to himself, that he thinks, and that, which his mind is applied about whilst thinking, being the ideas that are there; it is past doubt, that men have in their minds several ideas. Such as are those expressed by the words, whiteness, hardness, sweetness, thinking, motion, man, elephant, army, drunkenness, and others. It is in the first place, then, to be inquired, How he comes by them? I know it is a received doctrine that men have native ideas, and original characters stamped upon their minds in their very first being.

Locke's Essay, Book xi. ch. i.

POPE.

*How happy is the blameless vestal's lot?
The world forgetting, by the world forgot;
Eternal sunshine of the spotless mind!
Each pray'r accepted, and each wish resign'd;
Labour and rest that equal periods keep;
Obedient slumbers that can wake and weep;
Desires compos'd, affections ever ev'n;
Tears that delight, and sighs that waft to heav'n.
Grace shines around her with serenest beams,
And whispering angels prompt her golden dreams.
For her th'unfading rose of Eden blooms,
And wings of seraphs shed divine perfumes.*

YOUNG.

*Let Indians, and the gay, like Indians, fond
Of feather'd fopperies, the sun adore;
Darkness has more divinity for me;
It strikes thought inward; it drives back the soul
To settle on herself, our point-supreme.
There lies our theatre: there sits our judge.
Darkness the curtain drops o'er life's dull scene;*

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*'Tis the kind hand of Providence stretch'd out
'Tiswixt man and vanity; 'tis reason's reign,
And virtue's too; these tutelary shades
Are man's asylum from the tainted throng.
Night is the good man's friend, and guardian too.
It no less rescues virtue, than inspires.*

SWIFT.

*Wisdom is a fox, who, after long hunting, will at last cost you
the pains to dig out. 'Tis a cheese, which by how much the richer
has the thicker, the homelier, and the coarser coat; and whereof,
to a judicious palate, the maggots are the best. 'Tis a sack pos-
set, wherein the deeper you go you will find it the sweeter. But
then, lastly, 'tis a nut, which, unless you chuse with judgment,
may cost you a tooth, and pay you with nothing but a worm.*

ROBERTSON.

*This great emperor, in the plenitude of his power, and in
possession of all the honors which can flatter the heart of man,
took the extraordinary resolution to resign his kingdom; and to
withdraw entirely from any concern in business or the affairs of
this world, in order that he might spend the remainder of his days
in retirement and solitude.—Dioclesian is perhaps the only prince
capable of holding the reins of government, who ever resigned
them from deliberate choice, and who continued during many
years to enjoy the tranquillity of retirement, without fetching one
penitent sigh, or casting back one look of desire towards the power
or dignity which he had abandoned.*

Cha. V.

HUME.

*The beauties of her person, and graces of her air, combined to
make her the most amiable of women; and the charms of her ad-
dress and conversation, aided the impression which her lovely
figure made on the heart of all beholders. Ambitious and active
in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and society; of a
lofty spirit, constant and even vehement in her purpose, yet po-
litic, gentle, and affable in her demeanor, she seemed to partake
only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, with-
out relinquishing those soft-graces which compose the proper or-
nament of her sex.*

GIBBON.

*In the second century of the Christian æra the empire of Rome
comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilized*

portion of mankind. *The* frontiers of that extensive monarchy C H A P.
were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valour. The III.
gentle but powerful influence of laws and manners had gradually
cemented the union of the provinces. Their peaceful inhabitants
enjoyed and abused the advantages of wealth and luxury. The
image of a free constitution was preserved with decent re-
verence.

JOHNSON.

Of genius, that power which constitutes a poet; that quality without which judgment is cold and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates; the superiority must, with some hesitation, be allowed to Dryden. It is not to be inferred that of this poetical vigour Pope had only a little, because Dryden had more: for every other writer since Milton must give place to Pope; and even of Dryden it must be said, that if he has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems.

FROM the preceding instances we may form an idea of the power of the Saxon language; but by no means a just idea; for we must not conclude that the words which are not Saxon could not be supplied by Saxon words. On the contrary, Saxon terms might be substituted for almost all the words not marked as Saxon.

To impress this sufficiently on the mind of the reader, it will be necessary to shew how much of our ancient language we have laid aside, and have suffered to become obsolete; because all our writers, from Chaucer to our own times, have used words of foreign origin rather than our own.

In three pages of Alfred's Orosius I found 78 words which have become obsolete, out of 548, or about $\frac{1}{7}$. In three pages of his Boethius I found 143 obsolete, out of 666, or about $\frac{1}{5}$. In three pages of his Bede I found 230 obsolete, out of 969, or about $\frac{1}{4}$. The difference in the proportion between these and the Orosius proceeds from the latter containing many historical names. Perhaps

